RURAL EDUCATION AND URBAN MIGRATION IN THE TENZA VALLEY, COLOMBIA

By

STEPHEN SCHMITZ

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1993

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA LIBRARIES

Copyright 1993

by

Stephen Schmitz

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the faculty of Foundations of Education at the University of Florida for my excellent doctoral education. Especially Dr. Rod Webb and Dr. Rob Sherman offered more of their time and attention than their positions required. They also reminded me what the very best in education is all about. I want to express my gratitude to Dr. Elizabeth Bondy, Dr. Linda Crocker, and Dr. Paul Doughty. Lastly, let me express heartfelt thanks to my students.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....iii

ABSTRACT..... vi

CHAPTERS

ONE INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM... 1

Purpose of the Study..... 7
Significance of the Research..... 8
Limitations of the Study..... 10
Organization of the Dissertation..... 11

TWO REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE..... 12

Seminal Studies..... 12
Research about Latin America..... 13
Social Change and Modernizing Economies..... 16
The Push and Pull of Migratory Behavior..... 19
Education as a Factor in Migration..... 21

THREE ETHNOGRAPHIC AND GROUNDED THEORY METHODS.... 26

The Goals of Ethnography..... 26
The Goals of Grounded Theory..... 28
Collecting Cultural Data in Rural Colombia.. 30
The Tenza Valley Setting..... 31
Ethnographic Research Methods..... 35
Ethnography in the Tenza Valley..... 37
The Site Process..... 40
Analysis of the Tenza Valley Culture..... 43
Final Analysis Procedures..... 48

FOUR THE TENZA VALLEY: TRADITION UNDER SIEGE..... 53

Memories of Traditionalism..... 53
The Invasion of Modernity..... 55
Overtones of Rural Inferiority..... 60
A Culture of Movement..... 62
Distortions Behind the Myths..... 67
Modernity's New Consciousness..... 70

FIVE EDUCATION AND MIGRATION AS SOCIAL CLASS PHENOMENON..... 80

The Underpopulation of Tenza Valley Schools. 81
Social Class Indicators in Rural Areas..... 84
Education and Migration: Social Class Generalizations..... 108
Upper Pueblo..... 108
Lower Pueblo..... 110
Upper Campo..... 111
Lower Campo..... 112
Changes in Consciousness as a Social Class Phenomenon..... 113
Social Class Attitudes: Perpetuating Social Inequality..... 117
The Education-Migration Hypothesis Revisited..... 126
A Theory of Rural Education and Migration... 129

SIX EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE..... 133

Colombian Educational Marxism..... 133
Freire's Emancipatory Pedagogy..... 135
Dewey's Education for Modern Times..... 137
Freedom and Culture..... 138
The Schools as Mediating Structures..... 141
Stratification, Freedom, and Education..... 142
Dewey's Conception of Change..... 144
The Beginnings of Change..... 147

APPENDIX THE MINES..... 152

REFERENCES..... 156

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE..... 167

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

RURAL EDUCATION AND URBAN MIGRATION
IN THE TENZA VALLEY, COLOMBIA:
A GROUNDED THEORY ANALYSIS

by

Stephen Schmitz

May, 1993

Chair: Dr. Rodman Webb
Major Department: Foundations of Education

Migration to urban areas is a serious problem in Latin American developing countries. Researchers believe that education contributes to this migration by introducing information about and yearnings for the urban lifestyle. Education level coincides with migratory behavior among rural inhabitants.

In this study, ethnographic qualitative research methods were used to construct a grounded theory about education and migration in rural Colombia. In the Tenza Valley, Colombia, the inroads of modernity have caused dissonance within the traditional rural culture. Education and migration are two means to cope with the clash of cultures brought about by modern change. Education and migration are often concurrent, but neither causes the

other. Rural inhabitants' education and migration decisions reflect social class roots because the different classes use distinct relevance structures to make sense of modernity.

Dewey suggested that schools must change to meet changing societal needs. This has not happened in the Tenza Valley, where exclusionary practices have discouraged the attendance of individuals from less-advantaged social classes. These citizens are less prepared to deal with a world of change. Schools should prepare citizens with the skills they need to be effectively integrated into the modern social order.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

As the Colombian economy modernizes at an aggressive rate, the republic is confronting many of the socioeconomic difficulties typical of developing Latin American nations. One serious problem is the migration of the rural population to major urban areas and the consequent overcrowding of urban centers. Governments are often unable to provide for the basic human needs of migrants in crowded areas. Various researchers have argued that rural public education contributes to this exodus by promoting a sophisticated world view, raising the expectations of students, and portraying an urban economy of materialism and success (Haar, 1963; Matos Mar, 1961; McGreevey, 1968; Parra & Zubieta, 1982; Perez, 1974).

Unfortunately, little information is available concerning the rural inhabitants' perspective of this urban pilgrimage. No one has done an in-depth analysis of why rural inhabitants leave the countryside. The focal problem of this study was to determine what factors and beliefs influence individuals to leave rural areas and what part education plays in their migration decisions.

Primary reasons for the mass migration to urban centers are the pressures of widespread rural poverty, unemployment, meager salaries, social and economic insecurity, and the perception that better opportunity awaits in developed urban centers (Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social, 1979). In Boyacá province, family members have left from almost half of the homes and headed for the city. An average of 2.5 children leave each Boyacá family. The situation is similar in most other Colombian rural areas (Ordoñez G., 1986). This migration has caused a dramatic depopulation of the countryside and the myriad problems associated with severe overpopulation in urban areas.

The Colombian government has tried to accommodate rural migrants in urban areas, but the overcrowding of Colombian cities is a difficulty the government is ill-equipped to handle. Providing basic services such as food, potable water, sewage and refuse removal, housing, energy service, transportation, and jobs are especially problematic (Barco 1987). Twenty-five percent of the urban population suffers from extreme poverty, and an additional 15% lack basic services and resources (Consejo Nacional de Política, Económica, y Social, 1987). At the same time, urban areas are plagued by widespread unemployment, falling real wages, and rapid inflation (Helmsing, 1986).

Migrants struggle to survive in the camps on the fringes of Bogotá. They cover stick frames with cardboard boxes or sheet plastic for shelter. Entire families live in one-room, unlit, unventilated shacks. There is no escape from the cold or the frequent rain. Electricity comes from wires illegally connected to street lights. Water is hijacked by garden hoses. Women wash clothes and infants in gutters. Raw sewage and human wastes lie uncollected in the streets. Children play in the middle of drying clothes, human and animal excrement, and open garbage (Roa Roa, 1985).

A Colombian urban social worker described to me what happens when underskilled migrants flock to urban areas:

> There is a belt of misery [cinturón de miseria] around Bogotá. Migrants arrive from the countryside and work at whatever they can or starve. They become maids, prostitutes, street vendors, construction workers, thieves, or trash pickers.[1] At best they acquire physical labor jobs that pay minimum wage [about $100 US a month] or even less. Many leave latchkey kids at home while they work--their welfare is a major problem in this area.
>
> These people come from the countryside [campo]. They cannot afford to go back home because there is no work for them there either. They have no means to escape the cycle. They have no options. The true reality is that they are stuck in a cycle of subsistence living or worse--they lose whatever position they have, get sick, get

---

[1] One labor market for migrants that is growing rapidly is work in the greenhouses that surround Bogotá on the high savannah. This industry is currently expanding at a vigorous rate. Silva (1982) described migrant women working in this industry.

robbed, or have other problems. Sickness and injury are major threats to survival.[2]

Migrants have additional problems. Viviescas Monsalve (1989) reported that new arrivals do not understand such urban concepts as limited space, open and closed areas, city distances, security and crime, salaries, and a cash economy. Many migrants are not prepared for the life they find in the city. They are unused to rapid change or the highs and lows of urban living. They are also unprepared for urban crime and violence.

The lack of mental preparation of many rural migrants leads to serious psychological and emotional problems. The impact of the change from rural timelessness and tranquility to the rushed urban lifestyle, the movement from family lands to urban slums, and the adaptation necessitated by these changes cause psychological dislocations. Many migrants become confused, panic-stricken, or neurotic (Herrick, 1965; Paredes, Gómez, & Jiménez, 1969).

The Colombian government realizes the dangers of continued urban migration (Gomez Hurtado, 1979; Ordoñez G., 1986) and has launched rural development programs to stem the population flow. Nevertheless, the number of

---

[2] To enhance the readibility of this study, I have translated Spanish references and quotations into English. Some English equivalents have the original Spanish included in brackets.

dislocated workers in urban areas continues to rise (Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social Senalde, 1979).

Realizing the importance of rural agriculture to the national economy, the government has piloted numerous projects to encourage agrarian reform, promote modern agricultural practices, and improve the economic situation of rural farming communities (Turbay Ayala, 1979). The increased production of agricultural goods is retarded by the prevalence of small-scale farming, poor capital investment, and farmers' reliance on traditional primitive farming methods (Vargas Sierra, 1985). Landowners farm primarily for family consumption, selling surplus crops locally at low prices. Manufactured goods, on the other hand, are expensive, and their costs rise faster than the market prices of local farm goods. Rural farmers are experiencing a falling standard of living in relation to the national economy (Vargas Sierra, 1985).

Rural public education is an established tradition in most South American countries, including Colombia (La Belle, 1973). Literacy education is intended to improve living standards of those in the countryside (Coombs, 1985). Some researchers believe the very education that should make rural life more satisfying leads students to yearn for the urban lifestyle. Parra and Zubieta (1982) referred to this phenomenon as a cultural anachronism. Teachers arrive from the city armed with the culture,

economic habits, and consumerism of the urban community. By virtue of their professional status they become local leaders and the focus of respect, attention, and high social status. They introduce urban values to the rural population through their participation in local affairs and the methods and content of instruction.

Parra and Zubieta's findings are supported by others who study rural populations and schooling. Coombs (1985) believed that literacy skills have no economic utility in many rural areas and contribute to cultural upheaval. Lizarzaburu (1985) argued that literacy instigates rising aspirations and expectations for labor market participation, consumer goods, and the satisfaction of perceived needs. Epstein (1971) stated that rural education efforts alienate campesino children from their agrarian roots.

Preston (1987) acknowledged the coincidence between education and migration, but asserted that describing modern education as the sole cause of rural flight is simplistic. For Preston, the education-migration argument provides a unidimensional analysis of complex decisions. Such decisions are based on a multitude of interrelated factors, none of which can be viewed as an exclusive determinant of migration patterns.

Purpose of the study

Colombian studies have combined economic and demographic data[3] with common-sense analyses to draw conclusions about the causes of rural to urban migration patterns. However, the gulf between the common-sense assumptions of academics and the realities of rural life is sometimes large. We do not know the actual thought processes and relevance structures (see Schutz, 1970a, 1970b) at work when individuals decide to stay on the land or go to the city, nor do we know the role education plays in migration decisions. This research is designed to address these questions.

This study is an ethnographic analysis (see Spradley, 1979) of the factors and reasoning involved in rural inhabitants' decisions to leave the countryside. I was particularly interested in the role that education plays in individuals' migration decisions. I lived in Colombia's rural Boyacá province for the 1992 summer,[4] collecting information and interviewing local inhabitants. My purpose was to construct an in-depth description and ethnographic thesis that explained urban migration decisions. Specifically, I attempted to answer the following questions:

---

[3] Myriam Ordoñez G. has compiled an excellent source for all types of rural demographic information in her 1986 Población y familia rural en Colombia. Bogotá: Pontifica Universidad Javieriana.

[4] I have visited the Tenza Valley area frequently over a ten-year period.

1. What sources of information do the inhabitants use in making migration decisions; how do they view such information; and to what extent is the information accurate?

2. How do local inhabitants perceive their situation relative to urban dwellers, and what aspects of each lifestyle are taken into consideration when deciding to stay in the country or leave for the city?

3. How do urban dwellers who have migrated from rural areas perceive their situation relative to rural dwellers they left behind? In retrospect, how do they view and explain their decision to leave?

4. What factors distinguish those who leave from those who stay?

5. What are the implications of this research for changing governmental policy and/or educational practice?

Significance of the Research

Bock and Rothenberg (1979) suggested that one problem governments have in dealing with migration issues is a lack of information about the migration process and decisions that underlie that process. Ignorance and misinformation force governments to deal with migration consequences of an immediate nature instead of focusing attention on root causes and solutions.

The goal of this research is to develop a thesis which explains rural-urban migration patterns, campesinos'

decisions to migrate, and the role of education as a motivating or mitigating factor in migration decisions. At the same time, the analysis will illuminate the rural perspective and context of migration patterns, provide needed information concerning the relationship of the school to economic concerns, and suggest how education relates to the unique social environment of this area (Mejia, 1988; Parra, 1980; Stronquist, 1983; Zubieta, 1982).

Findings will help establish theories about the relationship of the rural individual, the educational environment, and the larger society; the effects of socioeconomic conditions on pedagogy; and the implications of cultural context for educational practice (Zubieta, 1982). A naturalistic investigation can help formulate educational and social policies aimed at diminishing the differences between marginal groups and the culture-at-large and providing information for the administration of policies to reduce social inequalities (Stronquist, 1983).

This study is intended neither as an exposé of the Colombian rural education system nor as an indictment of national educational policies. I am familiar with Colombian rural education programs and sympathize with the efforts of the government in the area of rural literacy education. An increased understanding of the effects of literacy education at the local level will contribute to

educational knowledge in the area and enhance the educational opportunities of the rural populations of modernizing nations.

Limitations of the Study

This study drew on data I collected during 8 weeks of intensive study in one small rural Colombian valley. The research format limits the generalizability of its findings in two ways.

First, data were not collected over time. Although I am familiar with the Tenza Valley and its inhabitants and have visited there at least 20 times, ethnographic data I collected over 8 weeks may not accurately represent long-term behaviors and trends of the rural population in the Tenza Valley.

Second, Colombia is a country of many distinct climate regions, racial and ethnic groups, lifestyles, and traditions. Information collected at one distinct location is not always indicative of other areas. I believe the Tenza Valley is representative of the Boyacá mountain region, but it may not represent the whole nation geographically, ethnically, or culturally.

Although the thesis suggested by this study is limited, the study represents a "typical" portrait of the Tenza Valley as seen through the lives of those who live there. In that, the dissertation may provide lessons for those interested in rural migration and education issues.

Organization of the Dissertation

In Chapter One I introduce the subject of this study. I demonstrate the importance of migration issues and suggest that migratory behavior may be linked to education. I list study goals and limitations. In Chapter Two I review research literature relevant to the study and discuss the background of the research questions. In Chapter Three I outline the ethnographic and grounded theory research methods I used and explain how they provided insight into the social context of migration decisions. In Chapter Four I depict the Tenza Valley where the study took place. I describe the inroads of modernity in Tenza Valley's socially-stratified society. I discuss how dissonance in the traditional culture and changes in the relevance structures used to interpret life have influenced migration decisions in the Colombian highlands. In Chapter Five I describe how Tenza Valley society deals with modernity, dissonance, education, and migration on the basis of social class. In Chapter Six I argue that modernity is an inevitable process. I offer a John Deweyian model for revamping schools to better prepare citizens for a changing world and I offer suggestions for improving schooling and rural life.

CHAPTER TWO
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Seminal Studies

Ravenstein (1885), an English statistician, first suggested that "laws" govern migratory behavior. Redford (1926) used Ravenstein's laws to demonstrate the salutory effects of urban migration on the English economy during the first half of the 19th century. Ravenstein and Redford described migration as a natural and productive consequence of urban industrialization. Unskilled laborers shifted from areas of low economic opportunity to regions of higher opportunity, at once improving their standard of living and increasing the nation's prosperity.

Early demographic researchers attempted to construct quantitative models to explain migration patterns. Stewart (1948) tried to build migration configurations into his "social physics" mathematical model. Isard (1956) constructed a calculated function model of migration tendencies. Blanco (1964) suggested that migration is numerically linked to regional wage differences and employment availability.[5] Sjaastad (1962) also noted

[5] McGreevey (1968) found that Colombia ranked third in regional economic inequality among 24 underdeveloped nations.

regional wage differentials as an incentive to migrate, but argued that non-money costs, opportunity returns, and associated risks should be calculated into migration-decision equations. Alers and Appelbaum (1968) generated more than 100 quantifiably testable propositions about migratory behavior.

Demographic information demonstrated that rapid urban growth is caused primarily by migration, not higher fertility in the urban areas (Bradfield, 1963; Iutaka, Bloomer, & Berardo, 1976). In fact, high fertility rates in rural areas may be a catalyst for migration (Perez, 1974). Haar (1963) argued that flight from rural poverty and the lure of city life are the root causes of mass migrations.

Research about Latin America

As early as the 1960s, international scholars noted the exceptionally high rural-to-urban migration rates in Latin America. In Colombia, the 1951 census revealed that the population was 38% urban; in 1964 the population was 52% urban (Ospina, 1973). By 1990 Colombia's population was 70% urban, with 45% of the nation's population concentrated in four cities: Bogotá, Cali, Medellín, and Barranquilla (Toro, 1990). Bogotá's population increased ninefold between 1938 and 1972 (Arturo, 1990).

Drawing on work done in Chile, Herrick (1965) developed a theoretical base for migration analyses

specific to South America. For Herrick, migration was an incidental question in the larger issue of labor mobility. Migration supplies cheap labor for industrialization in expanding economies. Those who remain in rural areas also profit because the out-migration leaves more land for individuals to farm. Initial urban labor gluts drive down the wages for unskilled migrant labor and increase industrial profits. In time, however, wage differentials decrease and emerging modernized economy reaches wage/price stabilization.

In 1966, Llovera developed a causal analysis for the rural exodus in Venezuela. Like Herrick, Llovera (1966) documented the expanding labor base in urban areas brought on by industrialized development. Llovera also emphasized violent, impoverished, and miserable rural conditions as an incentive to migrate. He cited the rural paradox of malnutrition in fertile farming areas because of farming inefficiency. He decried the unhealthful and dangerous conditions of rural living.

Llovera (1966) documented the problems of migration for major Latin American urban areas. Inefficient trash and sewage removal caused major health threats to the urban population. Overpopulation caused major ecological damage near urbanized areas. Overpopulation caused increases in criminal behavior, unemployment, unsupported children, transportation and electrical scarcities, and a fundamental

breakdown of urban areas' ability to provide basic goods and services to new, and often unwanted, migrants. Where Herrick (1965) saw only the positive economic aspects of the rural exodus in Chile, Llovera saw the negative consequences of the rural migration in Venezuela.

In Colombia, the Colombian Association of Faculties of Medicine (ASCOFAME) has studied the migration phenomenon. ASCOFAME (Giraldo Samper, 1976) officials explained that overfarming land is an additional factor in migration. Not only does overfarmed land become less productive, but inheritance laws subdivide family holdings into smaller and smaller units with each generation until each unit is too small to support a family. Each land parcel is so small, and the economic and human costs of farming it so great, that there is little or no payoff in continuing small family-owned farming ventures.

Disease and health problems are rampant in rural areas (Giraldo Samper, 1976). Infant mortality is high, brought on by the absence of prenatal care and hospital services. Poor nutrition among children and adults results in chronic anemia and lethargy, and contributes to high mortality rates, especially among young children. Nutritional deficits are the primary contributing factor in the deaths of rural infants (Novoa & Gómez, 1978). In 1972, about 90% of the rural population suffered from nutritional

deficiencies. Mortality during natal delivery is high (Novoa & Gómez, 1978, p. 17).

Accidents cause a disproportionate number of rural deaths. Intestinal parasites cause additional morbidity. According to ASCOFAME, a precarious living situation and the absence of adequate nutrition and health services underlie the remarkably high mortality rate in rural areas (Giraldo Samper, 1976).

Colombian researchers also have investigated urbanization concerns devolving from rural migration. Some noted the rapid depopulation of rural areas in favor of the modern urban lifestyle (Mendoza Hoyos, 1968). Andrade Lleras (1968) suggested that the Latin American phenomenon was part of a larger, global pattern of migration associated with industrialization and economic modernization. South America was simply a particularly strong case of the world-wide phenomenon called "hyperurbanization." Cardona Gutierrez (1968) declared that hyperurbanization has caused the massive slums to form around Bogotá, populated by what he called the "marginal urban population" [población marginal urbana] (p. 68).

Social Change and Modernizing Economies

Kuznets and Thomas (1957, 1960, 1964) suggested that migration is linked directly to the processes of urban economic development and rural decay. Those living outside urban areas flock to new labor positions made available by

industrialization, deserting the disintegrating rural economy. The Fundación Mariano Ospina Pérez (1980), a non-profit foundation organized to assist campesinos, documented how modernity has contributed to the deterioration of the rural culture and traditional lifestyle. Notable has been a rapid drop in rural employment opportunities and a 2.5% annual drop in rural population. The Foundation also noted that the rural population is 50% poorer than the urban population.

Jaffe (1959) outlined some fundamental sociological issues underlying migration questions and linked migration to economic modernization and social change. The migration process whereby persons move from a subsistence to a modern economy, and the factors associated with this process, are basic to our conceptualization of the working force in modernizing nations. It is vital to understand this process if economic development is to occur successfully in these countries. There is a gap in knowledge about developing countries because of an inability to collect such information by demographic methods. There is little descriptive information about people who live in modernizing rural economies and little understanding of the change process whereby subsistence farmers become modern workers.

Bogue (1959) explained why social scientists should study modernization changes and internal migration

patterns. Migration is a symptom of fundamental social change. Major societal changes often require a redistribution of basic resources. Migration becomes necessary to establish geographic equilibrium between high rural birthrates and high urban labor demands. Some areas offer expanding economic opportunities, especially for those with special qualifications. Migration maximizes manpower use while providing opportunity, cultural diffusion, and social integration.

Bock and Rothenberg (1979) indicated why migration is so troublesome and why migration studies are so important to national governments. Migrations are unplanned and therefore difficult to control. In developing countries, population growth and urbanization can quickly outpace the rate of industrialization and cause serious problems in urban centers. Thus, migration flow is unpredictable and capable of harboring immense difficulties for national planning.

The result of this unpredictable flow to urban areas is a dramatic overcrowding of the major cities and a spillover into surrounding areas which quickly become slums. This leads to a number of well-documented societal problems: unemployment, poor living conditions, inadequate sanitation and housing, a lack of social and health services, crime, pollution, and social unrest. Governments

respond to these consequences[6] instead of relying on early preemptive intervention because they do not fully understand, and therefore cannot predict, migratory behavior (Bock & Rothenberg, 1979).

The Push and Pull of Migratory Behavior

Bock and Rothenberg (1979, p. 5) referred to a "push and pull" phenomenon in migrations. Rural conditions "push" migrants out of their native regions, and urban conditions "pull" them toward the cities. Haas (1963) explained the "pull" in internal migration simply as a move toward the city's modernizing economy and employment opportunities. Alers and Applebaum (1968) suggested that although most migrants seek job opportunities, social mobility and educational opportunities in urban areas are additional incentives to migrate. Roa Roa (1985), Sanz de Santamaria (1991), and Toro (1990) suggested that many migrants are attracted by city health centers, subsidized housing, opportunities to study, and the relative peace of urban areas.

There are obvious reasons why city life appears better than rural life for some rural inhabitants. ASCOFAME documented various rural push-out factors that discourage inhabitants to leave rural sectors. Rural areas lack clean water, water service to homes, sewage removal systems, or

---

[6] Bock's and Rothenberg's emphasis, p. 6.

adequate health resources (Paredes, Gómez, & Jiménez, 1969).[7] Lack of fertile land, high mortality rates, unhealthy surroundings, sickness and ill-health all contribute to "push" rural inhabitants toward the cities (Giraldo Samper, 1976). Roa Roa (1985), Sanz de Santamaria (1991), and Toro (1990) argued that many migrants flee from the political violence that has plagued some rural areas for the past 40 years.[8] Pírez (1986) believed these additional motives are simply surface manifestations of a problem that is fundamentally economic. Rural poverty is demonstrably more widespread than poverty in urban areas (Mendoza & Mendoza, 1981), and the rural standard of living continues to fall (Vargas Sierra, 1985).

Bogue (1961) discovered that young people have a greater tendency to migrate. When economic changes demand a demographic shift of population, it is the younger, more flexible, and less burdened who have the greatest need and desire to make the shift. Thus, migration is a response to social and economic stimuli that differentially effect young adults. Arizpe (1978) suggested that ethnic

---

[7] Since that time, the government has launched programs to make health care accessible in rural areas. All the towns I visited had staffed government health posts.

[8] Yet, McGreevey (1968) argued that few migrants mention this factor in interviews. Reyes and Prieto (1964) found that only 1% of the migrants they studied migrated primarily to escape rural violence, but rural violence may have escalated in recent years.

minorities may also tend to migrate. In Mexico, those of native and mestizo background tend to have the least economic opportunity, so they tend to migrate most readily. Cardona G. and Simmons (1977) demonstrated that migration is selective for gender. Although early migrations to new areas of industrialization may be primarily male, later large-scale migrations are preponderantly female.

Education as a Factor in Migration

Various studies have suggested that education may be a primary motivating factor in individual decisions to migrate. Education level is highly correlated with rural-to-urban migration (Matos Mar, 1961; Parra & Zubieta, 1982; Perez, 1974). Those most likely to migrate are those who have received the most and best education (Alers & Applebaum, 1968; Bouvier, Macasco, & Zarate, 1976; Butterworth & Chance, 1981). Sanz de Santamaria, Velez, Gonzalez, and Becerra (1985) found that only 18% of Colombia's population is literate, but literacy among migrants is as high as 82%. McGreevey (1968) and Fierro (1973) showed that those migrating to Bogotá were actually better educated than the city's extant population. Herrick (1965) found that city adults are more educated that the migrants, suggesting that age may be a factor not measured by other researchers. It appears that education may play an important role in the decision to migrate, but what that role is remains unclear.

The question of education as a causal factor in migration is both more interesting and more complicated than it first appears. Half of the rural children attend school for less than one year, and only 8% finish primary school (Betancur Mejia, 1984). Yet migration occurs from almost half the rural homes (Ordoñez G., 1968) and accounts for almost half of the urban areas' population increases (Minesterio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social, 1979). It is difficult to believe that so little education can cause such a large population of migrants.

The rationale for migrant selectivity by educational level is that the higher an individual's education level, the more likely the individual will be aware of the opportunities and amenities available in urban areas (Butterworth & Chance, 1981). But Herrick (1971) pointed out that the migration decision may be attributable in part to local economic folklore. Pírez (1986) believed that the perception, not the actuality, of urban opportunities spurs migration.

Preston (1987) argued that education is only one of many interrelated factors that influence the decision to migrate. McGreevey (1968) demonstrated that six factors strongly influenced migration: economics, family affairs, education, military service, health, housing, and rural violence. Bock and Rothenberg (1979) decided that there were three causal factors: population growth,

industrialization, and urbanization. Population growth puts severe pressures on the land. Industrialization leads to mechanized farming and urban job opportunities. Urbanization means that cities can offer enhanced educational opportunities and social services as well as jobs.

In summary, it is apparent that there is a correlation between education levels and the decision to migrate. But it is not clear that there is a causal relationship between the two. The influence of education on migration is neither clear nor well-documented. One problem is that most migration studies in Latin America have been demographic analyses and urban-sociological investigations. These studies tell us the characteristics of migrants but not the factors that influence migration decisions. Ethnographic methods and grounded-theory analysis are particularly appropriate for the latter type of study. Ethnography's "participant observer" approach allows researchers to involve themselves in the daily affairs of the target culture, making the thought processes and relevance structures of the group accessible to the researcher (Spradley, 1979; Schutz, 1970a, 1970b). A naturalistic study can show how education influences migration decisions in a way that demographic or survey-data methods cannot.

Using quantitative methods, researchers have described what types of people migrate, how many migrants there are, and where they come from. Qualitative methods are needed to get to the heart of why rural inhabitants leave. Colombian researchers (Mejia, 1988; Parra, 1980; Stronquist, 1983; Zubieta, 1982) specifically indicate the need for on-site naturalistic studies to illuminate the rural perspective and educational context of migration patterns. As Parra (1980) put it,

> Ethnography may have its widest field of action in the comprehension of the relationship between education and culture. Ethnography can make a real contribution at many distinct levels in the planning and formation of educational policies. Ethnographers, together with their pedagogical, sociological, and anthropological orientations, can provide the entire society with an empirical foundation, concepts, and theories of development that contribute to the description and interpretation of the [rural] culture. (p. 114-115)

A naturalistic study should provide needed information about the relationship of the school to migration habits and economic concerns and how education relates to the unique social environment of this area.

A qualitative study of rural school and migration habits should provide information that explains the relationship of the rural individual, the educational environment, and the larger society; the role of education as an agent of socialization; the effects of socioeconomic conditions on educational pedagogy; and the implications of cultural context for educational practice (Zubieta, 1982).

A qualitative analysis should focus future research on more precise factors in the education-migration question and how they interact. It may help governments to respond proactively to population movements because a theory of migratory behavior explains the migration process, instead of forcing policy makers to react to population changes without information about the motives for migratory behavior (Bock & Rothenberg, 1979). Qualitative information about rural social processes would be valuable in formulating educational and social policies aimed at diminishing the differences between marginal groups and the culture-at-large and providing information for the administration of policies to reduce social inequalities (Stronquist, 1983).

The next chapter outlines how I planned and carried out a such a naturalistic study based on the "participant observer" approach in the Tenza Valley, Colombia.

CHAPTER THREE
ETHNOGRAPHIC AND GROUNDED THEORY METHODS

I wanted to investigate the qualitative reasons why Colombia's rural inhabitants migrated to urban centers. If education was the principal motivating factor for migration, I wanted to describe how schooling elicited yearnings for the urban lifestyle. If education was not the underlying reason for migration, I wanted to describe what was prompting rural inhabitants to leave for the cities.

In this chapter I describe the processes of my ethnographic research. I discuss the goals of my study and how I attempted to achieve those goals using ethnographic methods. I explain why I borrowed heavily from the methods of grounded theory to enhance the explanatory power of my analysis. I describe the location of my study and outline how I used my research methods on site.

The Goals of Ethnography

Ethnography is based on the premise of symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionism holds that human beings act on the basis of the meanings that the things and events have for them (Woods, 1988). Such meanings derive from the social interactions of individuals within a

culture. Ethnographers seek to uncover and describe the meanings that cultures and their participants ascribe to social situations by making inferences based on their observations of cultural situations. They seek to reveal the relevance structures that lead cultural participants to to become interested in certain happenings and their outcomes and not others (Webb, 1976). Ethnographers study what people say and do and the artifacts they use to infer how cultures interpret social reality (Spradley, 1979).

The ethnographer is interested in constructing various versions of social reality and convincing readers of the authenticity, plausibility, and significance of their representations of social scenes and settings. Ethnographers gather rich descriptions of social situations first hand and describe them in socio/ concrete terms. The richness and accuracy of the descriptions establish and reaffirm the analysis drawn by the author "at the scene." The reader, through the power of the researcher's descriptions of social situations, enters into a sympathetic engagement with the social scene and its characters (Atkinson, 1990).

Atkinson (1990) explains that the ethnographer becomes a "virtuoso" witness of character and credibility through an ability to take the reader beneath the surface characteristics of cultural transactions and "draw reader and ethnographer together into a complicity of shared

viewpoints" (p. 73). This is best accomplished by the ethnographer's active involvement in the social world and presenting "eye-witness" evidence which recapitulates that experience. The authority of the analysis hinges on the depth and authenticity of the ethnographer's accounts. A recounting of the ethnographer's methods and perceptions, multidimensional descriptions, interview comments, specific case exemplars, and descriptions of actors all may be useful methods in establishing the plausibility of the analysis.

I used ethnographic methods in my investigation in order to understand the underlying meanings that notions like migration and rural and city life had for those involved in the migration. I hoped that a rich description and deep analysis of the culture surrounding the migratory process would help me understand how and why migration decisions are made and the part education plays in those decisions.

The Goals of Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a qualitative research method similar to ethnography. Like ethnographers, grounded theorists attempt to understand the social meanings that cultures use to interpret social realities. Unlike ethnographers, grounded theorists go beyond existing theory and preconceived conceptual frameworks to arrive at fresh and unique interpretations of social realities.

Hutchinson (1988) noted that human realities such as migration issues are not simply "out there." Human processes are socially and symbolically constructed in relation to other facets of social life. In order to discover and understand the processes that underlie the construction of social realities, it is first necessary to investigate the world as seen through the eyes of the participants and then clarify the basic social processes that organize that world.

Hutchinson (1988) described grounded theory as a process wherein researchers seek to conceptualize the essence of specific interactional processes such as education and migration. The resultant theory provides new understandings of the social situations from which the theory was generated. It is a social and conceptual framework around a core variable that explains large portions of data, encapsulates the underlying meanings of a culture, and can be tested.

As in ethnography, the grounded theory researcher hopes to capture the essence of what is happening in a given situation from the perspective of those intimately involved in the circumstance. The researcher seeks to discover the underlying processes and meanings for those engaged in a cultural issue such as urban migration.

In both ethnography and grounded theory, the emergent study should be a new understanding based on the collected

interpretations of participants in the cultural process (Hutchinson, 1988). I wanted to understand the underlying meanings that urban migration and rural life had for Tenza Velley residents. Through the discovery of these meanings, I hoped to understand why migration occurs.

Although this study is essentially an ethnography, I borrowed from grounded theory methods because I wanted to do more than provide a rich description of the culture of migration. I was dissatisfied with the hypothesis that rural education causes migration and I wanted to take a new and different look at the problem. I hoped grounded theory's methods of analysis would help provide a new perspective on the migratory process. As Hutchinson (1988) explained, "Grounded theory can also offer an exciting new approach to an old problem" (p. 124).

Collecting Cultural Data in Rural Colombia

In order to begin an ethnographic investigation, the first step is to enter into and share in the lived experiences of the culture. Researchers must immerse themselves in the immediate social environment of the culture in order to fully investigate the cultural processes they want to understand.

I investigated the education-migration issue by travelling to rural Colombia to experience the migration phenomena first-hand and discuss migration motives with those actually involved in the process. I selected the

mountainous Tenza Valley region as a research site because the valley was a rural area from which many inhabitants were migrating to urban centers. I also had access to the valley and knew many of its inhabitants intimately.

Shimahara (1988) noted that gaining access to the local culture may be the most difficult task in ethnographic research. I had especially close relations with the rural inhabitants of Pachavita, my wife's birthplace. Because of its cultural accessibility, Pachavita seemed an ideal location for an ethnographic study of the migration phenomenon.

The Tenza Valley Setting

In order to understand patterns of behavior in local culture, Spradley (1979) suggested that researchers initiate observations of the cultural locale, basic social structures, and social events and processes. I lived and worked with the local inhabitants of Pachavita, Boyacá, and similar villages in the Tenza Valley during June and July, 1992. Pachavita is located in the Andes mountains about 60 miles northeast of Bogotá, the capital of Colombia. It is a small farming village that lies at about 6000 feet along a ridge at the upper end of the Tenza Valley. The Valle de Tenza is an area of dense but primitive farming. The village is small, about ten city-like blocks arranged around a church plaza, a produce plaza, and the main road into the village. Although government records are unclear

about the precise population of Pachavita, about 2,000 inhabitants live in the village proper or close by.

Pachavita is a center of local social and religious life, commerce, and excitement. Social life revolves around the church plaza, a paved and lit area with benches surrounded by local shops, the bus station and telegraph/telephone office (there is one phone in Pachavita), the rectory, and a few other small businesses. The local school, Escuela Urbana de Pachavita, is also located near the plaza. The school is typical of schools in the Tenza Valley--small, well-painted, clean, utilitarian. The school building consists of a row of six classrooms and a covered open hallway. In front is a paved basketball court and a few flower boxes.

Although Pachavita's population is small, the surrounding farm area is densely populated with families living on 2-10 acre plots. There is a daily flow of commerce, visitors, and school children into the village from these outlying farms. The church also draws farm inhabitants into the village for daily and Sunday mass and a variety of church functions.

There is one unpaved road into Pachavita capable of transporting motorized vehicles. The village is the end-of-the-line stopover for three Tenza Valley bus routes that operate to Bogotá. From town, many small footpaths [caminos] lead into the countryside; these caminos have

been the main transportation routes in this area since precolumbian times.

Pachavita's climate is wet and cold. Mornings generally are hazy. Sometimes the fog will burn off to reveal midday sunshine, but more often it remains cloudy and rainy throughout the day. Morning fahrenheit temperatures typically range in the mid 40s; on a hot day the afternoon temperature will rise to near 65 degrees. Cold rain is an almost daily occurrence. Homes are not heated. Local inhabitants wear thick sweaters and jackets or wool ponchos called ruanas to keep warm.

The most prosperous villagers live in three- or four-room stucco houses with tiled roofs and indoor plumbing. Most houses in the town and many close-lying farms have electricity. Farther away from the village, houses are constructed of mud brick and thatched roofs--primitive quarters on small farming plots generally without electricity or running water.

Although all Pachavita's inhabitants would be considered impoverished by American standards, poverty is a relative thing. By local standards, some villagers are prosperous. Shopkeepers, successful farmers, and a few salaried government employees comprise the village's upper class. Other inhabitants are less fortunate. Many of the adults are unskilled and have never been to school. About 60% of the population is illiterate (Contreras de Gonzalez,

1990). There are few jobs and little to do. Many children suffer from dietary deficiencies. Blackened teeth, skin lesions, and gaunt faces are common. Some villagers dress elegantly to stroll around the plaza on Sunday, while others come into town shoeless and dressed in threadbare clothes. Most villagers survive marginally through hard work and resourcefulness. They credit any surplus they earn to God's kindness and enjoy it with gusto. Visitors to the area often comment on the industriousness, excellent manners, and quiet ways of the villagers.

Although I based my operation in Pachavita, I also travelled to make observations and interview campesinos in other, similar villages in the Tenza Valley. Overrun by the Spaniards in the late 16th century, it is an area of considerable historical importance. The Tenza Valley was a center of the highly advanced precolumbian Chibcha civilization (Contreras de Gonzalez, 1990).[9] The Liberator of South America, Simon Bolivar, passed through the area to lead the great armies of independence. The decisive battles for Colombian liberty were fought nearby.

De Janvry, Fajardo, Errázuriz, and Balcázar (1991) described the Tenza Valley as an area dominated by small,

---

[9] Legends of the Chibcha nation's immense gold riches prompted Spanish invasions throughout the New World. Chibcha (Muisca) civilization, which flourished for over 1000 years, is most noted for its spectacular goldwork. A good American reference is The Florida Department of State's (1983) Gold of El Dorado: A Florida tour.

single-owner farms. The average farm size is about five hectares. Such family farming ventures account for 95% of the Tenza Valley's cultivated land (ASCOFAME, 1976). The principal crops farmed in the Tenza Valley include corn, potatoes, hemp, and sugar cane. Some land is also used for ranching. The area lost 9.7% of its population to migration from 1973 until 1980; if anything, migration rates are on the rise (ASCOFAME, 1976).

Those who do not migrate generally are poor and illiterate. They suffer under poor economic conditions and primitive farm technologies. In 1981, only 3% of Boyacá's population were high school graduates. Only 0.02% had university degrees. Sixty percent of the population were functionally illiterate, and 35% were totally illiterate. Seventy-seven percent were without sewer service (Mendoza & Mendoza, 1981). In a country where 67% of the population lives in poverty, the Tenza Valley is one of the poorest sectors of one of the poorest regions of the nation.

Ethnographic Research Methods

I used ethnographic research methods to investigate education and migration patterns in Pachavíta. I believed that the rich description that ethnographic methods provide would help illuminate the underlying factors influencing the migration phenomena, whereas existing quantitative data had only suggested the numbers, types, and backgrounds of migrants.

Ethnographic methods involve complementary in-depth observations and semi-structured interviews (Lofland & Lofland, 1984). Ethnography and grounded theory methods utilize rich cultural description to render research data understandable (Glaser, 1978, p. 3). The researcher begins with foreshadowed questions, but without a precise hypothesis. In qualitative research, hypotheses are thought to promote preconceptions that discourage the discovery of original variables and their relationships. Preconceptions may interfere with the formation of original hypotheses and inhibit the open-ended discovery process inherent in ethnographic analysis (Wilcox, 1982).

Ethnography's flexible and dynamic methods capitalize on the naturalistic setting to capture typical cultural behavior (Leininger, 1985; Spradley, 1980). The researcher acts as a "participant observer" who is involved in the daily affairs of the social group and simultaneously notes cultural processes from an outsider perspective (Junker, 1960). The approach allows the researcher to discover systems of meaning that cultural participants use to interpret their environment and social reality (Spradley, 1980).

Ethnography and grounded theory methods follow similar cyclical patterns that include describing situations, asking questions, collecting data, recording and analyzing data, discovering cultural themes, and then repeating the

process at increasingly higher levels of analysis. The process captures the essence of the research problem from the perspective of those integrally involved in the culture. Spradley (1979, 1980) outlined this procedure in detail in what he called a developmental research sequence. Glaser (1978) detailed a similar process in his Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory.

Ethnography in the Tenza Valley

In-depth interviews of the participants in a culture lend meaning and credibility to their observed experiences. I interviewed eighty-nine Tenza Valley locals and visited schools in Chinavita, Garagoa, Mambita, and Santa Maria, as well as Pachavita. I began collecting data before leaving for Colombia by interviewing two former Tenza Valley residents who live in Miami. I hoped they would provide a dual insider/outsider perspective on the migration decision-making process. Once in Colombia, I met first with informants who have moved to Bogotá from the Tenza Valley area. Then I travelled to the valley itself to interview local inhabitants. I interviewed people who planned to leave for urban areas and others who planned to stay. I interviewed families of those who recently had left and families of those who planned to leave. Decisions often are made communally within the family and family

conversations are viewed as informal and conversational (Goff, 1990).

I stayed in the Tenza valley eight weeks during June and July, 1992, studying and interviewing the local villagers as I lived in their midst. I concentrated on five villages[10] and travelled through others as I transversed the valley. I have lived in the area before, know many of the inhabitants, have attended their religious ceremonies, and have worked with them in the fields. My wife and eldest daughter were born in Pachavita. I have four godchildren who were raised on farms surrounding the village. My wife and extended family assisted with interviews and data collecting. Locals were especially helpful in locating informants and arranging interviews before my arrival.

I began my data collection in Pachavita, the highest major village in the valley. I found my previous experience in Pachavita and the assistance of friends and family to be an important asset in this investigation. Gaining insider access to the local culture is extremely problematic for most ethnographers (Shimahara, 1988). Rural inhabitants are wary of outsiders, especially those perceived to be "officials." Locals had paved the way for my arrival, saving me valuable time. I was able to begin

---

[10] Pachavita, Chinavita, Garagoa, Mambita, and Santa Maria.

my research without investing the months it normally would take to become known and trusted by local campesinos. Friends and family in surrounding Tenza Valley villages faciliated my travel to other locations in the area, allowed me to stay in their homes, filled in background information on new sites, and arranged interviews upon my arrival.

I gathered data through informal and formal interviews, field observations, and the collection of artifacts. This multiple data-source method minimized my observer bias while simultaneously increasing the wealth of data I collected (Hutchinson, 1988). I had planned to use tape recordings to produce transcripts of conversations, but found the tape recorder caused informants to become nervous and conversations stiff.[11] I began to utilize a more informal process. I always brought another interviewer along to help with the interview process.[12] The interviews were informal and conversational. When they

---

[11] Hutchinson (1988) cautioned researchers to be sensitive to their environments in order to determine if tape recordings made informants uncomfortable or disrupted their behavior.

[12] Hutchinson (1988) and Richer (1975) suggested that using several observers/data collectors was valuable because it provided multiple perspectives and a check against observer biases.

were over, I conferred with my cointerviewer to compare notes and construct transcripts.[13]

I travelled to the other Tenza Valley villages to conduct further interviews with similar groups, both to uncover sources of new information and to check data by triangulation (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 234-235). Interviews with teachers, research memos I wrote to myself, photographs, artifacts such as locally-printed books and school report cards, field notes describing locales, families and homes, and local documents provided additional verification data.

The Site Process

The initial phase of data gathering at each village site entailed what Spradley (1980) referred to as the "grand tour." I recorded a general description of the surroundings of each town, drew a village map, and noted the location and daily activities of actors in the study. Many of my informants had been located and informed of our imminent arrival. As soon as I arrived in each village, I visited with friends to ask for their help and ideas. I began to interview local actors using methods outlined by Spradley (1979), concentrating on those intimately involved

[13] I eventually abandoned taped interviews altogether in favor of extensive note taking. Some informants appeared visibly unsettled by the tape recorders. No one requested that the tape recorder be turned off, but this is not surprising. Campesinos are famous for their good manners.

in the migration process. Such ethnographic interviews are well-accepted techniques for collecting primary qualitative data (Loflin, 1971).

Spradley (1979) also recommends the use of extensive field notes. In my case, this involved carrying a pocket notebook in which I listed locations and descriptions of family dwellings, ages and names of family members, and other information pertinent to each home I visited. I drew town and farm maps and attempted an informal census in each area. I jotted down the names of interview prospects. I described language and dress differences. I noted questions and unfamiliar terms so that I could get clarification from friends and family. I attempted to include a description of every location and situation I encountered in the Tenza Valley.

I collected artifacts and took photographs throughout the valley. The artifact collection included things that clarified or reminded me of aspects of the local culture. Church bulletins, posters, letters, local books, even bottle caps became part of my collection because they exemplified ways in which modernity was manifested in the local culture. I took more than 400 photographs specifically related to issues in the study. Pictures were especially useful as a means to capture a fleeting moment for later description or remind me of a situation I wanted to consider. I also took photographs to substitute for

those artifacts I wanted to recount as data but could not bring home (e.g., informants' clothes). Comparisons of interviews, field notes, and artifacts served as a source of cross-verification. Miles and Huberman (1984) referred to this cross-verification process as triangulation.

After visiting the five Tenza valley villages, I returned to Bogotá for four days to wash clothes, write letters, get money and supplies, and check in with my Bogotá contacts. I also examined the data I had collected and began preliminary coding. I organized domains and attempted to discover patterns in my interview data and field notes (Spradley, 1979, Hutchinson, 1988). I questioned my Bogotá informants further and ascertained what information was lacking in my transcripts and notes. I then returned to the Tenza Valley, retracing my previous route and collecting aditional data at each site. I visited my old informants and made new contacts. I worked to clear up discrepancies and fill in holes in my data. During this second trip, I also detoured to the emerald mines in Gachelá to interview migrants at that location.

Data collection continued for eight weeks until it was time to leave Colombia. By then, the preliminary categories of data had become "theoretically saturated" (Glaser, 1965, pp. 441-442), that is, further data collection was not adding new information to my categories or clarifying the emerging theory. I was discovering that

new interviews and collected information were becoming repetitive.

I analyzed the data qualitatively using ethnographic techniques described by Spradley (1979, 1980) and the grounded theory method proposed by Glaser and Strauss (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987). Spradley's techniques of ethnographic data analysis are well known. Grounded-theory analysis differs substantively from Spradley's ethnographic methods only in the final phases of analysis.

Analysis of the Tenza Valley Culture

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) described qualitative data analysis as a "process of systematically searching and analyzing the interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials that you accumulate to increase your understanding of them and to enable you to present what you have learned to others" (p. 145). I began data analysis during actual data collection, cycling back and forth between collection and preliminary analysis, correcting blind spots, writing down what I wanted to ask next, and generating new collection strategies (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 49). Transcribing, coding, memoing, and extensive field notes assisted in preliminary data analysis and revising initial strategies (Glaser, 1978; Miles & Huberman, 1984), although taped interviews were becoming problematic. After the preliminary data analysis and

coding I retraced my first trip through the valley a month later, clearing up errors and oversights and making new inquiries. This was a good time to spot-check hunches with local informants for initial verification.

Data analysis involved sorting data into preliminary groups or domains according to the meanings that occurrences or statements had for the actors involved (Spradley, 1979). I began this process on-site during evenings and between visits. I assumed that cultural participants pattern their existence and act in predictable ways (Hutchinson, 1988), and I attempted to detect these behavior patterns and discover the underlying social processes they represented. Decoding cultural symbols means more than simply uncovering the meaning of cultural referents; it requires a discovery of relationships among cultural symbols (Spradley, 1979) and detecting patterns of behavior extant within the culture (Hutchinson, 1988).

I found preliminary domaining was made easier by working with a local partner or my wife, also a Tenza Valley native. Like Richer (1975), I found that by immediately checking my hunches with locals, I was less likely to let patterned behavior go unexplained, to misinterpret cultural symbols, to miscode data or otherwise go astray. Spradley explained that,

> the meaning of any symbol is its relationship to other symbols in a particular culture. The task of ethnography is to decode the cultural symbols and identify the underlying coding rules. This

> can be accomplished by discovering the relationships between cultural symbols. (Spradley, 1976, p. 99)

Locals were aware of subtle meanings that I had missed and could interpret the background of comments I had not understood. Immediate checks with local informants during coding became my first level of verification.

Hutchinson (1988) suggested that the researcher simultaneously collect, code, and analyze data from the first day in the field. Memoing and sampling assist in the grounded-theory coding and analysis process. Memoing entails recording ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the ethnographer while coding. These memos become a fund for future conceptualizing. Glaser (1978) suggested that researchers should memo while coding, but I found it beneficial to memo throughout the day as ideas and coding schemes occurred to me. I started carrying around a memo notebook in which I jotted down ideas, codes, and relationships. Often, I would memo during the day when an event helped clarify a coding relationship with which I was struggling.

Sampling involves a circular process of coding samples of the data in order to direct further data collection. The process of data collection becomes controlled by the emerging theory, eventually producing a theoretical sensitivity to the complex matrix of interrelated meanings within the data (Glaser, 1978). I found sampling to be a

daily necessity. The quantity of information I received each day was enormous and my time in each village was limited. I found that reviewing each day's notes and transcripts and doing preliminary coding always raised questions to be resolved, new issues to be investigated, and ambiguities to be clarified. Coding with a local partner helped me tie up loose ends and fill in missing facts.

The next step in the analysis involves "asking structural questions" (Spradley, 1979, pp. 120-131) wherein the ethnographer seeks to detect an underlying structure to the various domains and categories and then construct a taxonomy of primary domains and subsets of those domains. Creating a taxonomic structure entails describing discrete social processes as conditions, consequences, strategies and tactics, or interactions within the larger social situation under study, and searching for more inclusive domains that include other processes and domains as subsets. The researcher wants to deconstruct social situations into discrete units, categorizing the units, then reconstruct the social environment in a manner that affords organizational and explanatory power (Spradley, 1979). Often, I found that informants suggested codes or domains to consider or could explain how various discrete social situations fit together. In my research I used an on-site laptop computer and Ethnograph software to help

with coding, domaining, taxanomic analysis and data management.

After my data collection and analysis proceeded for some time, certain categories focused attention around a major theme that became the "axis" or topic of the study. Strauss (1987) called this intermediate step "axial coding" or discovering "a dense texture of relationships around the 'axis' of the category being focused upon" (p. 64). Spradley (1979) referred to the same analytical step as a taxonomic analysis, or a "search for larger, more inclusive domains that might include as a subset the one you are analyzing" (p. 146). The goal of such second-order analysis in both methods is the organization of unrelated codes into a definitive structure where domains are identified and defined by characteristics they hold in common.

In my study, coding was a sequential activity where initial data were identified and sorted by syntax or function, such functions were then sorted into higher-level categories, and the categories were tied together to form general cultural themes with wide-range explanatory power over the data (Spradley, 1979). It was during this axis-building stage that I began to focus on issues involving social class differences and first considered dissonance as an axis around which to build my theory. As one insightful informant commented about a wealthier family, "The

difference [between them and us] is that they have more money. They are a different class of people." Social class explained the differences in the behavior of the campesinos I had studied. Dissonance was the one domain that encompassed social class differences in behavior, described migratory behavior, accounted for educational decisions, and explained deviance from set patterns of behavior among the natives. It was an all-encompassing axis around which I could organize and account for all my data, and have the resultant schema make sense.

Final Analysis Procedures

In grounded theory, the final level of analysis differs sharply from Spradley's final step of discovering cultural themes. An ethnography typically tries to arrive at assertions or principles (cultural themes) that underlie cultural symbols and provide shared meanings (Spradley, 1979). I wanted to go one step farther and propose a new model for understanding migratory behavior (Hutchinson, 1988), based on in the data I had collected in the Tenza Valley. Such a model could be compared against the education-migration hypothesis, tested in future studies, and used to predict behavior in similar circumstances.

Woods (1988) has argued that ethnographers must not stop at description because the major goal of their discipline is the development of theory. My analysis was intended to go beyond an inventory of simple social

processes to discover the conceptual themes that members of a society use to connect domains (Spradley, 1979). My goal in the analytic process was to first view the world as seen through the eyes of the participants, then discover the basic social processes or structures that organize that world. I wanted to discover and conceptualize the essence of the specific interactional processes (Hutchinson, 1988, p. 124) involved in patterns of social class behavior and sum up how education and rural migration patterns hinge on the social class variable. By drawing partially on grounded theory methods, the cultural themes detected in the study would be "grounded" in and directly connected to the data of the study. Glaser and Strauss (1967) explained that grounded theory methods should,

> fit the situation being researched, and work when put to use. By "fit" we mean that the categories must be readily (not forcibly) applicable to and indicated by the data under study; by "work" we mean that they must be meaningfully relevant to and be able to explain the behavior under study. (p. 3)

Grounded theory utilizes what Glaser (1965, pp. 439-444) terms the "constant comparative method." It should begin with collected data, then attempt to discover relationships within the data that suggest testable hypotheses. The goal is to establish a core variable or main cultural theme that illuminates the actors' behavior and explains what is going on in the data. This core variable, or basic social psychological process, should

encapsulate an original theory with explanatory power over the phenomena and behavior under study (Glaser, 1978; Hutchinson, 1988).

By combining ethnographic and grounded theory analytic methods, I attempted to detect a main cultural theme that encapsulated both modern change in Tenza Valley society and social class variability in migratory behavior. My plan was to compare this core variable or cultural theme to education-migration hypothesis advanced by Parra and Zubieta (1982).

Ethnographies should be holistic descriptions that give a thorough description of all the elements characteristic of a social process (Woods, 1988). Culture can be viewed as a set of instruction for carrying out activities in certain situations; the cultural thesis should describe the tacit rules of behavior appropriate to the cultural situation (Spradley, 1979). Researchers should avoid the chance of unsubstantiated theorizing or abstraction (Hutchinson, 1988). A good analysis should use as few concepts as possible and resolve the problem of the nature of the pattern of behavior.

My ethnography is a holistic model for understanding migratory behavior in rural Colombia. As I will detail in Chapters 4-5, it has predictive and explanatory power over education and migration processes in rural areas.

I use dissonance as a key construct that encapsulates and explains both processes. Modernity brought dissonance into traditional rural society. Those social classes most impacted by modernity became most dissonant and those most insulated from modern change remained least discordant. The concepts of modernity, social class, and dissonance cover a wide range of variable behaviors and resolve the problem of the nature of the pattern of behavior. The analysis explains how the dynamics of social class drive rural education and migration decisions in the Tenza Valley.

A good ethnography "works" if it penetrates beneath surface appearances and explains the perspectives through which people make sense of their world. It should describe the actors' behavior but also the strategies people employ to achieve their ends, the situations in which they define their goals, and the subjective underpinnings of their cultural situations (Woods, 1988). The standard by which to judge my ethnography of migratory behavior is whether dissonance, modernity, and social class serve as cultural themes around which to construct a theory of how rural inhabitants arrive at migration decisions.

The story of how I established dissonance as a key construct for understanding Tenza Valley rural society is told in Chapters 4 and 5. In Chapter 4 I will describe Tenza Valley society as a clash of cultures where modernity

has brought about dissonance as traditional ways come into question. I will argue that this clash of cultures has evoked changes in consciousness among the valley's residents. In Chapter 5 I will describe the Tenza Valley's social class structure and propose it as a framework for understanding migratory behavior.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE TENZA VALLEY: TRADITION UNDER SIEGE

In this chapter I explain how modernity brings about changes in consciousness within the social order. I recount perceptions of the traditional culture and describe how social pressures and dissonance have arisen within the traditional Tenza Valley society. I discuss how education and migration decisions reflect perceptions of rural inferiority. I show how a new culture of movement reflects perceptions of urban and rural life and evolves from changes in the consciousness of the valley's residents.

Memories of Traditionalism

It is difficult to document the ways and beliefs of a culture in transition because a researcher can only visit in the present. I could not directly witness the traditional culture before the arrival of modern times, so I relied on the memories of Tenza Valley natives to fill in the account of life before modernity. Long-time residents remembered a world of seclusion, quietude, tranquility, reverence, and simplicity.

> "The children went to church and received the sacraments."
>
> "The priest was the most important person in the pueblo."

"There was no electricity, no television, no noise, no trucks."

"A woman would never question her husband's authority."

"Everyone would come [to town] and help make altars [for the church procession]."

"There were no strangers or miners. You knew everybody."

"I was never afraid."

The traditional culture was insulated from the changes brought about by modernity in urban areas. Even in 1977, when I first visited Pachavita, there was a pecular sense that this culture existed away from modern attention and modern pressures. Tenza Valley natives lived distant from the bustle of the modern world around them, isolated by the rugged mountains and unpaved roads that surrounded and secluded them.

Parra and Zubieta (1982) argued that teachers "carry" the modern culture into areas like the Tenza Valley when they arrive to teach at rural schools. According to Parra's and Zubieta's education-migration hypothesis (see pp. 5-6), urban teachers appear with the values and perspectives of modern life and transmit the modern culture through their methods and content of instruction. Teachers from urban areas breach rural isolation with their pedagogy of modernity and infuse rural children with modern values and modern expectations.

The Invasion of Modernity

The education-migration hypothesis advanced by Parra and Zubieta (1982) fails to take into account the influx of modern material and information from the urban world into traditional rural areas such as the Tenza Valley. Teachers may bring modernity into the classrooms of school children, as Parra and Zubieta claim, but Tenza Valley residents face a constant barrage of information and visitors announcing the arrival of modernity in urban areas.

Media in Rural Areas

Television is a major carrier of information about modern life in the Tenza Valley. During the last 15 years, rural electrification programs have succeeded in bringing electricity to most Tenza Valley rural homes. The television has followed close behind. Most pueblo homes have a television, and many of the farm homes, even in outlying areas, sport a TV antenna. In the evening, large crowds gather in front of televisions in bars, cafeterias, and tiendas. They gawk at telenovelas (soap operas) of Bogotá penthouse life, police shows and suspense thrillers from the United States, and the likes of Doogie Howser, M. D., and The Simpsons, all available on local TV. Commercials hawk fast cars (Mazda), sultry women in Bogotá night clubs (beer), sexy women reclining on fast cars (Nissan), fancy restaurant dining (mayonnaise), leotard-clad women working out at gyms (yoghurt), and huge

skyscrapers (soap opera commercial). The voice on a Boyacá lottery commercial screams "20 MILLIONES!, 30 MILLIONES!, 50 MILLIONES!" as red, screen-size dollar signs flash on the TV. Television images say directly that fast cars, plentiful food, and sultry women are what city life is all about, and indirectly that affluence awaits all who travel to the city.

Television is not the only purveyor of modern urban life. Loudspeakers mounted on church steeples and town halls blare city radio. Intercity buses (flotas) deliver newspapers and magazines from Bogotá carrying all the news and fashion from the capital. The buses bring visitors and family from Bogotá, carrying gifts of watches, calculators, manufactured clothing, flashlights, blenders, televisions, lamps, appliances, and all the marvels of modernity. Advertising posters in stores show city skyscrapers or resorts on the beach. Emerald miners arrive in fast jeeps carrying revolvers and thick rolls of cash.[14] Relatives working in the city call to the town phone with news of their latest excitement. Regional politicians make speeches and promises and ask for votes. Newspapers arrive, jets pass over, travelling vendors pass through--

[14] To maintain the flow of the dissertation, I have not included a detailed discussion of the mines in this chapter. I visited the emerald mines, discussed migration issues with the miners, and received a thorough explanation of mining and the miners' lives. My notes on this phase of the research are included in Appendix A.

city life is exhibited everywhere. Even time has recently changed to a modern daylight-savings schedule. And Bogotá is only a seven-hour bus ride away.

Tales from the Modern World

With each holiday and church celebration, visitors arrive in droves from the city. Those who have migrated to the city return to visit the families they left behind. They come with stories of good jobs and an exciting new lifestyle. When asked about urban life, one returnee responded,

> I do like having a job. But it is everything about the city...the work, the money, the music, the cars, the stores, it all attracts me. Why would anyone want to stay here [in Santa Maria]?

Returning family members often bring along urban friends to enjoy the rural festivities. De la Cadena (1988) suggested that first generation migrants maintain especially close ties with their rural communities. Such city visitors, especially those who have "made it," are accorded near celebrity status. New arrivals tell their success stories to locals who give them rapt attention. Guests show off their city clothes and brag openly about their important jobs and the money they now make.

Returnees from the cities are in a predicament. Everyone has seen the images of urban wealth and heard the stories of fortune and success. It seems that city riches are easily secured by anyone with talent and the good sense to reach into the urban horn of plenty. Media images and

local stories make success appear inevitable. When migrants encounter the reality of meager city opportunities, they often revert to telling stories because the truth of their precarious lives will not let them save face. The myth of urban opportunity is so powerful that urban visitors prefer to lie, and blame failure on themselves, rather than question the mythology of urban plenty. One mother mused to me,

> Where did I go wrong? They [my children] are all at the mines or in the city doing hard labor, or [they have] no jobs at all, because I could not give them education or money. I have failed my children.

People often tell exaggerated tales of urban life and the mines. Stories become "tall tales" where city maids manage vital interests of the rich, construction workers become property investors, miners find emeralds worth fortunes. One miner, down on his luck, told me one of these tall tales:

> I lost all my money in an emerald deal. My partner and I found an emerald as big as this [a matchbox] in December. It had a value of $70,000,000 pesos.[15] We were going to sell it as soon as it was cut. But the man who had the emerald was kidnapped. So for the moment I do not have a cent [ni cinco]. I also lost an emerald out of my ring that was worth $500,000 pesos. I lost it in the river at the mine while I was breaking rocks.

An urban social worker described to me how urban life is inaccurately portrayed during rural visits:

---

[15] About $115,000 US.

> People who leave come back with lots of new things, different clothes, and apparently lots of cash to spend loosely. They brag and tell exciting stories about city life. It appears glamorous. It seems that city life itself breeds success--that all you have to do is arrive and make money.
>
> These people [from the city] save all year to return to their homes at the holidays or at Christmas, bragging about their money and telling about the excitement of the city and their good fortune. They bring their best purchased clothes and gifts for everyone in the family. They spend their money in one or two weeks and then return to the city for another year of hard labor and suffering. But what the people in the campo see is just the opposite of the truth.

This social worker, who worked for years in the Bogotá migrant camps, explained that buses, travellers, clothes, advertizing, and TV, all promote an image of city success. Few in the countryside see or hear about the "belt of misery" surrounding the capital or considers the implications of living without work in urban areas.

Millions live in the poverty belt surrounding Bogotá, many in cardboard shacks without water, electricity, sewers, or waste disposal. Their poor surroundings make for precarious health that contributes to their inability to keep a job. Police harassment, physical injury or assault, rape, robbery, alcoholism, venereal disease, lack of child supervision, inadequate food and shelter, and unsanitary water are problems urbanites face daily. But the rural people see none of this. They only see and hear stories of the marvels of urban life.

Overtones of Rural Inferiority

The images that campesinos receive about urban life and urban plenty combine with a pervasive belief among many urban dwellers that rural life and rural inhabitants are inferior to their urban counterparts. Urban visitors and relatives often portray campesinos as ignorant and lazy and characterize the rural culture as backward and unsophisticated. The judgmental and mocking dimension to this mentality is demonstrated in the common city saying, "Too hard for a campesino!"[16] There is also a moral judgment suggested by comments like, "I do not know anyone who has stayed [in Pachavita] and not just been lazy."

What Leavers Think of Stayers

Not only do city dwellers bring back tales of wondrous urban life, but they often bring back attitudes about campesinos and rural productivity that are negative and patronizing. Rural inhabitants are told that their lifestyle is undesirable and their work habits feeble. Visitors brag that the best, brightest, and bravest leave for the city while the feeble, backward, and slovenly stay behind. One visitor to Pachavita explained, "The [rural] people do not understand how to get ahead and the amount of work necessary to be successful." A relative from Bogotá commented about the townfolk, "They just sit there and

---

[16] Literally, "Esto es duro pal campesino," a gramatically incorrect syntax that also mocks campesino inaccuracies of speech.

expect to get rich." A rural mayor's wife stated frankly, "The rural poor do not want to study; they want to make money. They want to make lots of money and spend it, but they do not want to work for it."

The following excerpt from an interview with a 33-year-old Pachavita native, now living in the city, demonstrates how villagers are perceived as dullards incapable of capitalizing on modern city opportunity.

Hernando: They can make good money doing something in the city, or they can just keep on doing what they are doing.

Steve: Then why do they stay?

Hernando: I think they are afraid. Some of them are lazy because there is much more work here [in the city]. They do not move because they do not know anything and they do not have any money.

Steve: But they cannot be that lazy. People work hard in the campo and they start very young.

Hernando: Yes. I was not really talking about physical labor. I mean it is hard for them because they do not want to work at something different and learning new things. It is easier just to do the same old thing. That is how they are lazy. In Pachavita, every day is the same. You just exist. No problems. But that is not how you make money.

One youth described why he felt it necessary to move to Bogotá from his home in Chinavita:

> People from Chinavita do not do anything. They are born here and die here. They are like old people. They do not know [conocer] anything. They are not in the real world, the outside world.

Listeners take such harsh criticism to heart. In Bogotá, campesino visitors are often hidden indoors away from the eyes of neighbors. Many urban inhabitants are unwilling to admit their rural origins even to intimate friends. One Bogotá friend waited 10 years before she shamefully admitted to me that she had grown up in Pachavita near the home of my wife. Campesinos continually apologized to me for their perceived lack of education, sophistication, and "culture." They also blame themselves their lack of economic success. As one old farmer explained,

> We are lazy. One point the campesinos all have in common is that they are lazy. The only thing they have is land. The farms. They cannot sell them and it is all they have for their children. So they just take any money that they earn and go spend it. So they are poor and their children end up poor.

A Culture of Movement

The urban visitors arrive with exciting stories, manufactured clothing, ready cash, and stories of their urban successes. They describe rural life in a negative light and mock the lack of sophistication among campesinos. Urbanites complete the migration equation by providing an easy way to get from the "bad life" of the mountain valleys to the "good life" of the city.

Once friends or family have established residence in an urban area, they become a bridge for other migrants who follow. An established group provides shelter for

newcomers, helps look for jobs, and serves as a support network for green arrivals. Henao (1991) suggested that this support network actually becomes a type of mini-society within the larger urban culture. Mutual help and reciprocity among campesinos from the same area form the basis for a social and economic structure similar to that in the campo. Migrating family and friends find a new sense of belonging and community--newly constructed systems of meaning and relevance. Those who elect to stay behind in the countryside are considered timid or old-fashioned holdouts who are out of touch with the community, family, and modern times.

Former migrants and urban contacts create a culture of movement. Friends, family, classmates, relatives, all end up in the city together, create their own social circle and support network, and encourage other friends and relatives to follow. The same clique is recreated at the rural tienda or local village during festivals and religious holidays as the city group gets together to spin yarns and compare stories about urban adventures. At the same time, they exacerbate local dissonance by mocking rural life and treating locals in a patronizing manner. The urban network glamourizes the city lifestyle, makes the task of moving less formidable, and reinforces feelings of inferiority among rural inhabitants.

The rural community exerts a subtle pressure to migrate. A common theme of community gossip is about whose children are doing what and where. Everyone in the pueblo knows whose youngsters are studying, which migrants have found good jobs, and which offspring have become nuns, priests, engineers, or agronomists. As I sat in the local tienda on the Pachavita plaza, old friends would describe village residents to me:

> "Doña Maruja has two sons. They are both lawyers in Bogotá."
>
> "She is studying and living in Bogotá with a man, even though they are not married."
>
> "His family is well-educated. His children have all studied at the university."

Onlookers are quick to point out the failures as well as the successes:

> "He is here because his mother works in the city and cannot maintain him there. They do not have any money so it is better for him here."
>
> "The daughter flunked out because she really didn't want to live away from home--or she was too stupid to succeed!"

A great deal of family status is derived from the success of a family's children--whether they are working and making good money, what kind of men they have married to provide for them, whether they are in the university and what they are studying.

There is an opportunity for real success in the modern urban economy. Most migrants (87%) report that they are better off in the city than they were in their rural homes

(Cardona Gutierrez, 1968). Alers and Appelbaum (1968) suggested that migrant unemployment is lower than that of the city's own native population. Clearly, urban opportunity is more than tall tales and idle gossip.

Multiple Pressures to Migrate

Those who stay in rural areas are often subject to a combination of social pressures and influences to leave. A good example is Magdalena, the daughter of the owners of the bus station. This family owns one of the more lucrative business in Pachavita. They have the economic means to send their daughter away to study. She has a high school diploma and could find a city job. However, this daughter, about 37 years old, has never married and has never moved to the city.

Magdalena runs the bus station operation, opening the doors at 5:00 a.m. to sell tickets and often serving beer and soda until 11:00 p.m. on weekends. She works at least 100 hours a week, alone in a small store. Since she is part of the family she is only given a small allowance. She is the brunt of considerable local gossip and vitriol:

> "She was too stupid to get into college. Could not pass the tests."
>
> "Too old to get a husband."
>
> "They [the family] were never the right kind of people to have that kind of business."
>
> "How can she just stand there all day?"

Even my wife, a former villager, surprised me with,

> "Hah! She always was so stuck up in school because her family had money. Now look at her!"

Magdalena is subject to considerable pressure to leave from a variety of sources. She is getting older and will not find a husband easily in Pachavita. She is working brutal hours for little pay at a monotonous job. She is the brunt of local gossip and humor. Villagers expect more from someone in her social position. Her parents cannot be proud of her achievements and are implicated in her failings. And, of course, she is exposed to the media and more than her fair share of city plaudits at the bus station. She works at the hub of the migratory action.

In summary, Parra and Zubieta's (1982) accusation that teachers are the main ambassadors of modernity must be viewed with skepticism. The media, visitors, family, and marketing strategies purvey modern culture in rural areas. Urban visitors mock campesino culture as primitive and ignorant and exacerbate disillusionment with the rural lifestyle. Urbanites establish a system to help migrants, welcome and establish newcomers, and encourage others to follow. They all reaffirm the myth that the modern city is an easily accessible mecca of excitement and lush economic opportunity.

Distortions Behind the Myths

The representations of urban and rural culture that potential migrants receive may be plentiful, but they are seldom accurate. The problem with both the advertised city image and the exaggerated stories of those who return from urban areas is that they paint city life in a highly positive, but often distorted, light. Those from the campo seldom hear of the city's poverty, the squatter dwellings, the cardboard communities, the street violence, the hunger, or the misery. Nor do rural boys hear enough about violence in the mines, the cold sea of mud in which miners work, the slave-labor conditions, or the controlled access to the mines themselves. Like the portrayal of the cities, the emerald mines appear as a seductive mecca for those without jobs, without money, and without a future.

The reality of the rural experience is distorted as well. Rural inhabitants hear little from leavers about the many positive aspects of rural life and rural culture. The Tenza Valley offers fresh food and clean water not found in the misery belt. Campesinos are honest and take pride in their integrity and good manners--manners and customs that often fall away in the city. The close-knit rural communities offer help, protection, and encouragement, while urban work and culture can be alienating. Although rural diets may lack nutrition, no one starves in Boyacá's mountain villages.

These positive factors are seldom mentioned in the media or by urban visitors. Few see the Tenza Valley as a safe harbor in a violent and precarious world. Campesinos hear the good about city life and the bad about rural life. The rural lifestyle pales in comparison.

Rural Economic Malaise

There is more to rural dissonance than simple perceptions of greener pastures elsewhere. There is often just enough truth behind the myths to make them credible. A real economic malaise affects rural areas and reinforces perceptions of the undesirability of rural life. Although only about 40% of Colombians are poor, 67% of the rural population is impoverished. Sixty-two percent live and work on farms of five hectares or less (De Janvry, Fajardo, Errázuriz, & Belcázar, 1991; Sarmiento Anzola, 1991). Campesinos are 50% poorer than their urban counterparts (Fundación Mariano Ospina Pérez, 1980). The land is becoming increasingly arid, infertile, and contaminated (González L. de G., 1991). Topsoil erosion is a serious problem, especially in mountainous Boyacá (Mendoza & Mendoza, 1981). Modern farming techniques are inaccessible; even obtaining chemical fertilizers is problematic (Fundación Mariano Ospina Pérez).[17] Farm surpluses are difficult or impossible to sell or transport,

[17] The foundation notes that in 1967 the United States consumed two tons of fertilizers per person in agriculture. Colombia consumed 1/40th of that amount.

technical advice is nonexistent, there is no infrastructure to provide basic human services, and the general quality of life is deteriorating rapidly (Velásquez Beyoda, 1991).

Mendoza and Mendoza (1981) documented how backbreaking work on the farms really is. Laborers get up before dawn and work until they no longer can see their fields. Children begin working as young as age eight, and continue farming as long as they are able, using primitive tools and outdated techniques. There is no time for children's games or classes. Youths quickly lose interest in farm life because they believe easy money can be made in urban areas. Youngsters want to go to other places, make money and do other things, even if it means becoming a chauffeur, a maid, or a prostitute.

City Opportunity is No Myth

The myth of urban plenty is reinforced by real opportunities. Again, there is just enough truth behind the myths that they become credible. Local residents have a clear sense that money is to be made in the cities. One high school student explained why most of his classmates had left the valley. "All my classmates [compañeros] are there [in Bogotá]. They make money and they always have money." I initially did not believe such stories from youngsters, but soon took the tales more seriously. The wife of the mayor of Pachavita explained the issue to me:

> The poor do not want to study. They want to make money. [They want to] make money and spend it.

> But there is no way to make money in Pachavita or Chinavita. There seems to be a lot of money in the city and there are a lot of jobs. Sixty or eighty thousand pesos[18] is a lot of money to these people.

The opportunity to make money is not entirely a myth. The money is there. One successful rancher told me that nine of his children had left for Bogotá and eight had good jobs. Most migrants (87%) report that they are better off in the city than in rural areas.[19] Alers and Appelbaum (1968) suggested that unemployment is lower among migrants than in the city's own native population.

Modernity's New Consciousness

There is more to the encroachment of modernity than a perception of rural backwardness and an opportunity to move to urban areas. Modernity's changes pierce the fabric of the old social order by bringing into question the values, beliefs, and habits of the traditional culture.

> "They do not come to church and receive the sacraments anymore."

> "The unwed mothers parade around town without shame."

> "If I wanted to look like that [a plaza drunk] I would move to Bogotá."

---

[18] $65,000, about $100 US, is the minimum legal monthly wage in Colombia--a salary which barely allows a family in Bogotá to survive. I personally know children in this income range who suffer from severe dietary deficiencies.

[19] Cardona Gutierrez (1968) reported that 87% of migrants in a Bogotá barrio claimed they were better off than before migrating. About 10% reported their condition was equal. Only 2.6% felt worse off.

"I would never give my daughter that much liberty."

"They [teenage boys] sit there all the time like they have nothing to do. I worked at their age."

New ways bring new ideas. The entire consciousness of the traditional culture is invaded by radical thoughts and new values. The inroads of modernity spotlight differences between old and new and bring once-accepted interpretive structures and shared meanings into question.

Max Weber noted that modernity is a mixed blessing. New technologies and a spirit of innovation create opportunities and new visions. Modernization also causes relations to become more bureaucratized and impersonal. Traditionalists are accused of technological philistinism as modernity brings old values and practiced habits into question (Gordon, 1987).

Peter Berger (1977) described the erosion of traditional "nomic processes" (p. 5) that help individuals to order and make sense of their lives.

> [Each society has] a system of ready-made typifications through which the innumerable experiences of reality come to be ordered. These typifications and their order are held in common by the members of the society, thus acquiring not only the character of objectivity, but taken for granted as the world tout court, the only world which normal men can conceive. (p. 6).[20]

A shared interpretation of meaning is deeply held, taken for granted, and valued by the very structures of the culture. Social structures serve to validate this shared

---

[20] Berger's emphasis.

interpretation of meaning. They confirm a certain conception of the world and the individual's identity in that world (Berger, 1977). They reinforce the relevance structures that define reality for the cultural group (Schutz, 1970b). Modernity brings about the weakening, if not destruction, of this shared reality. Modernity becomes repressive because it destroys the shared interpretation of existence (Berger, 1977).

Changes in Campesino Consciousness

Modernity challenges the value of traditional views of reality and the superiority of the modern perspective. The negative images of rural life and the myths of urban excitement and opulence have consequences for the psyche of the campesino. Traditional ways come to seem backward and unsatisfactory. The rural environment seems to provide little excitement or opportunity. The urban lifestyle becomes increasingly appealing. The actual lifestyles of the rural inhabitants may have changed little, but transformations in their consciousness herald cultural changes and the dissonance that modernity often elicits.

Individuals in the Tenza valley face a cultural dilemma. As the old order becomes weakened, individuals are caught between their own native rural culture and the mainstream modern culture. Some feel that they must defend the traditional conceptions of reality:

> "[Visitors] just need to understand that we are not that kind of [modern] people."

"The issue is who is in charge and who is in authority. Young people must learn not to question God's authority."

"Everywhere there are young boys out drinking. Many of the girls hang out of a window all night flirting and God knows what else."

Others reject the old order and its taken-for-granted world.

"Times change. Why are they afraid?"

"Most people in the city would never live like this."

"They do not understand anything about life. Nothing here ever changes."

As older shared meanings are examined in light of modern developments and cultural changes, dissonance erupts within rural traditional culture. Rural inhabitants see rural life as pedantic, mundane, and boring in comparison to an urban lifestyle characterized as active, exciting, and lucrative. Traditional mores and values and the traditional conceptions of meaning are reinterpreted negatively in light of more modern perspectives.

This dissonance often translates into a desire to experience urban modernity first hand. There are reasons to go to modern urban areas but also reasons not to stay in the traditional campo. Modern life take on a seductive appeal as campesinos compare the cities and the mines to a rural existence that lacks opportunity, exploits workers, and stifles determination. There are few rural jobs and they include long hours at miserly wages. Real opportunities exist in the cities. Rational and irrational

factors combine in the minds of campesinos considering migration.

Modernity and the Invention of Boredom

As modern culture arrives in rural areas, campesinos compare the stark realities of their rural lives with the myths and promises of a modern future elsewhere. The seductive appeal of the mines and the cities is heightened by an overriding sense of monotony in rural life reported by almost every informant in this study.

Klapp (1986) suggested that boredom is a phenomenon of modernity. When cultures change, appetites for new information must be whetted. Individuals become restless in a modern information society and surroundings begin to appear stagnant and redundant. In a changing culture, the presence of boredom suggests that an environment seems static, monotonous, and unchallenging to cultural participants. Modern cultures invent boredom to explain discomfort individuals feel with stasis and inflexibility as they live in the midst of change. Strategies like migration often are placebos for chronic boredom. Such placebos "serve in lieu of a better remedy" (Klapp, 1986, p. 135) to alleviate boredom without addressing the underlying problem of chronic poverty.

Rural life in the Tenza Valley is boring to many who live there. Youths stand around in doorways and gather on street corners because there is nothing else to do.

Shopkeepers spend 12 hours a day sitting in stores that have little or no business. The woman who runs the TELECOM station (the town telephone and post office) works from 8 a.m. until 9 p.m., 6 days a week, with only 2 one-hour breaks. She says of her life, "It is so boring. There is nothing to do but sit. Every day is the same. Sometimes I think I will go crazy." The school secretary says, "I am tired of doing the same thing. There is no one here and nothing to do." The judge's secretary is equally bored:

> I have to go to Tenza [a large nearby city] every weekend because I am so bored. I just have to go. I want to move back to the city. There is nothing to do here. I just walk across the plaza to work every day and then walk back across the plaza to here [the rooming house]. There is nothing else to do here. I have friends but they do not have anything to do here either. And they all eventually leave because they are bored.

The girl who serves in the cafeteria/pool hall washes the floors at 7:00 a.m. and sometimes serves beer and cleans up after midnight. There is only time for work, eating, bathing, washing clothes, and other of life's details. Teenage girls work for their fathers or uncles until they can find a means of escape. By tradition, they are not paid because they are working in a family business.[21] It is a life of indentured servitude, and the

---

[21] The mentality is that these girls should not be paid because the patriarch "gives them everything."

only ways out are marriage, pregnancy, the convents, or migration to the city.[22]

Other Signs of Dissonance

Boredom is only an exemplar of changes in youth consciousness in the Tenza Valley. The influences of modernity are manifest in the comments of the young:

> "People in Chinavita do not do anything. They are just born here and die here."
>
> "Around here they do not know what they are talking about. The people are old and ignorant."
>
> "There is nothing here and nothing to do."
>
> "I cannot stay here. You can never be a success in the campo."
>
> "I hate it here."

These comments indicate that the changes in consciousness brought about by modernity include more than simple boredom. Anger, frustration, resentment, scorn, and fear of the future combine in the minds of the Tenza Valley's residents to produce dissonance within the society. Cultural dissonance surfaces when residents are faced with the prospects of a rural lifestyle many see as outdated and counterproductive. These changes in consciousness become evident in the behavior of the valley's residents.

---

[22] Deere and León de Leal (1982a, 1982b) have collected substantial evedence that this "family work" mentality leads to a drastic underpayment of rural women for their labor.

Rural Youths in Trouble

There are direct social consequences to cultural dissonance. Boredom, frustration, and dissonance leads many young people living in the villages to begin drinking heavily at an early age, standing around in the early evening sharing a bottle of aguardiente with street friends. The high rural teenage pregnancy rate may be a consequence of the same boredom. One mother of teenagers complained,

> The kids came in late again last night. Alejandro came in about one this morning. This is very late to be in the streets. Pablo has been spending some nights at his girlfriend's house and they have been spending some weekends alone there. In front of the world. There is nothing for them to do here so they drink all night with their friends and sleep here [at home] all day.

Many of the lower-class, pueblo youths quit school, do not farm, cannot find jobs, and have virtually nothing to do. The rural young form the basis of the documented hard-core rural unemployment problem (Fundación Mariano Ospina Pérez, 1980).

Boredom and lack of activity among rural pueblo youths put parents in a double bind. Parents do not want their children to move to an uncertain and sometimes dangerous future in the cities or, even worse, in the mines. Neither do they want their children inactive, listlessly drinking away evenings on street corners or engaging in recreational sex. Parents themselves may become ensnared in the culture

of dissonance, fearful of the effects of the rural lifestyle on their offspring. The young often find the lure of city life or the glamour of the mines preferable to the monotony of rural life despite its dangers and uncertainties.

In summary, a comparison between the realities of rural existence and the myths of city life reinforces the dissonance within the traditional rural culture. Economic opportunity in urban areas is real. The city's many seductions are well-known and often exaggerated in rural areas. Rural inhabitants receive a barrage of urban plaudits from family, friends, travellers, the media, rumors and gossip, as well as the schools. Rural life is bland in comparison, especially when it combines poverty, lack of opportunity, backbreaking labor, and boredom. Tenza Velley residents experience a change in consciousness. Traditionalism appears backward and ineffective; modernity seems a mecca of excitement and opportunity. For many, the migration option appears logical, easy, and highly desirable. In fact, for many it is the only viable alternative to rural poverty (Bock & Rothenberg, 1979).

In this chapter I have shown how traditional culture has been besieged by the encroachment of modernity. I have suggested that modernity has brought about changes in the consciousness of Tenza Valley natives because urban

modernism has been portrayed as more worthwile, exciting, rewarding, and enriching than rural life. I have argued that the myths and perceptions of modern existence and the facts of rural and urban life speak strongly to Tenza Valley's young about the desirability of migration.

In the next chapter, I will describe how Tenza Valley society is comprised of discrete social classes that react to modernity and dissonance in different ways because they view tradition, modernity, and social change from divergent perspectives. I will argue that these differences in perspective lead each social class to make distinct education and migration decisions.

CHAPTER FIVE
EDUCATION AND MIGRATION AS SOCIAL CLASS PHENOMENON

Jaffe (1959) argued that a clash between modernity and traditionalism underlies urban migration issues in Latin America. Similarly, McGreevey (1968) suggested that family economic status plays a part in modern migration decisions. The results of this ethnography indicate that these two factors are fundamental to understanding migration decisions in the Tenza Valley, Colombia. When traditional and modern cultures clash, family economic position and social status emerge as controlling factors in how education and migration decisions are made.

Tenza Valley society is a mixture of social groups with diverse interests. The valley's distinct social classes operate from different value systems, assumptions, and relevance structures (Schutz, 1970b). In this chapter I show how social class factors influence perceptions of modernity. I suggest that the disparate social classes make sense of modernity and dissonance in different ways and that social class perspectives make migration and education plausible options for some citizens and impractical for others. I begin by recounting how I

arrived at the social class variable through an examination of attendance problems at the Tenza Valley's rural schools.

The Underpopulation of Tenza Valley Schools

Through my conversations with and observations of Tenza Valley residents, it became apparent that indicting education as the primary causal factor in migration patterns is an overly simplistic analysis. I came to believe, along with Preston (1987), that the education explanation provides an inaccurate, unidimensional analysis of a complex pattern of behavior attributable to several interrelated factors. My examination of these factors suggests that rural inhabitants do operate consistently as they make education and migration decisions. When I asked about the poor attendance in Tenza Valley schools, I began to see that such decisions have to do more with social class than the experiences of schooling.

In the Tenza Valley, most *campesinos* drop out of school. The Tenza Valley schools are underpopulated and many upper grades are all but empty. The elementary school in Pachavita is moving to a smaller building because the old school is underutilized. Once-full classrooms are no longer being used. The high school [*colegio*], built for 600 students, now enrolls fewer than 120; on any given day about 85 come to study. The third floor is no longer used. Chinavita's *colegio* is even larger but houses only about 180 full-time students, mostly from the *campo.* Residents

report that these schools were thriving only 10-15 years ago.

Colombian researchers tell us that rural school attendance is chronically low. Of the rural population of school age, 53% are not going to school (Velásquez Bedoya, 1991). Forty percent of the children drop out before the fifth year of school (Vargas de Roa, 1991). In 1985, less than 1% of all rural children ages 1-6 attended formal preschool. In some years only 15% of high-school age youths are in school. The rural illiteracy rate is above 70% (Perez Correa, 1991).

A number of factors interact to cause the underpopulation of Tenza Valley schools. Almost half of children drop out, mostly from the upper elementary grades. Teachers at the Mambita school, for example, reported that the two first and two second grades were overflowing. The fourth and fifth grade had been combined into a small single class.[23] Many of the wealthier children leave for private boarding schools (internados); most of the poorer children simply drop out. School failure is chronic--many of the poorer children give up after being retained year after year. There is a predictable pattern to who stays in school and who leaves. Certain social classes invariably send their children to local schools; other groups

[23] I was not able to visit classes at this location because of summer vacation. I did talk with teachers and students and visited the site.

consistently refuse local public education for their children.

My investigation of the underpopulation of Tenza Valley schools illuminated two important points in my study. First, it spotlighted the central role that social class plays in Tenza Valley education decisions. Secondly, it laid to rest any nagging doubts I had that rural education somehow caused urban migration. So few local inhabitants attended rural schools that it was impossible for education to influence large numbers of migrants. Furthermore, rural schools' attendees were typically from a social group that migrated less frequently than other groups.

Migration has caused an underpopulation of Tenza Valley schools. Most of the uneducated and undereducated population, especially the young, leave the Tenza Valley for the emerald mines or for urban areas. Especially the colegios compete against the lure of city life and city jobs, and the attraction of the emerald mines' adventure, for the attention of rural youths.

Many of the more educated return.[24] Different people migrate at different times in their lives and for different reasons. Some leave pursuing educational opportunities.

---

[24] I counted four returnees from urban areas in Pachavita out of the 53 people I interviewed there.

Other migrants seek work. Some migrants are sent away by their families, but others leave without their parent's blessing. Some leave with spouses or lovers; others travel alone. Certain migrants go to larger towns in Boyacá, some to the emrald mines, and others directly to Bogotá. Some moves are spontaneous. Other moves are carefully planned. Again, underlying this seemingly chaotic migration are certain predictable patterns of behavior.

A study of these underlying patterns of behavior reveals that the most consistent predictor of who will study, and when, and who will migrate, and when, is social class background. Tenza Valley social classes respond to the challenge of enroaching modernity in predictable ways, and these predictable patterns of behavior include migratory and educational decisions.

Social Class Indicators in Rural Areas

Longmore (1948) suggested that studying rural social class was essential to understand the dynamics of rural Latin American culture. De Janvry, Fajardo, Errázuriz, and Balcázar (1991) detected three social classes in rural Colombia: Poor Campesinos, Medium Campesinos, and Agrarian Capitalists.[25] Deere and León de Leal (1982a, 1982b)

---

[25] The "agrarian capitalists," or capitalist farmers engaged in large-scale agroindustrial concerns, are present only in insignificant numbers in the Tenza Valley, which is dominated by small-unit farmers. Thus, they are not addressed in this study.

suggested that farm laborers were a distinct social group. Lago and Olavarria (1982) studied a larger pueblo/finca economic system in Chile and suggested that Latin American rural communities have distinctive urban and farm sectors.

Some rural dwellers are much more prosperous than others. Income differences separate rural society into two income groups of similar size. About 43% of the population receives about 10% of the income; about 57% of the population receives about 90% of the income. The income discrepancy between the two groups in obviously great (Fundación Mariano Ospina Pérez, 1980).

As I tried to detect patterns in the responses of Tenza Valley natives towards modernity's changes, two pattern variables became apparent. I noticed that the wealthier natives dealt with modern change differently than the impoverished campesinos. I also discovered that village dwellers formed a subculture distinct from those who lived on the outlying farms. These subcultures perceived modernity differently and responded distinctly.

I found that Tenza Valley society's economic tiers and distinct farm and village class systems delineated at least four socioeconomic classes. I call these four classes Upper Pueblo, Lower Pueblo, Upper Campo, and Lower Campo. Although few individuals exemplified any social class perfectly, "ideal types" did emerge. These ideal types predicted how individuals within each social class

approached education and migration decisions. Each group approached the interrelated issues of education and migration differently.

A case-study typification of the four social classes identified in this study follows, as well as a description of common characteristics of each of these social classes. Their educational decisions and their typical migration behaviors will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Nora: Upper Pueblo Class

Nora is a high-school teacher who lives in Chinavita. Her husband manages a local branch of the Caja Agraria (the national rural cooperative bank). They are both 47 years old. Two of their sons, 20 and 22 years old, study at universities in Bogotá. The third son, age 12, lives at home and attends the local public school.

Nora and her family live in a two-story home near the center of town. The bottom floor includes a storefront where they own a small clothing store. The downstairs also includes a parlor, maid's quarters, an atrium, bathroom and laundry. Bedrooms, kitchen, bathrooms, an office and dining area are upstairs. The front door has a metal grill and double-bolt lock. The high back wall has broken glass embedded in the cement on top.

Nora wears city clothes and follows city ways. She prefers slacks or dresses at work and jogging clothes and sweatshirts when she is not working. She does not like to

cook and has someone do the wash. She has a live-in student who does the housework for room and board. She avoids the television and prefers books and long walks.

Nora loves Chinavíta and has passed up more lucrative job offers to stay in a rural area. Bogotá is too dirty, too dangerous, and too busy for her tastes. She suffers from stomach problems when she visits the capital. Nora believes that money goes further in Chinavíta and that the people are more friendly. Rural shopping is cheap, easy, and quick. She enjoys her work and believes that rural teachers have a greater degree of independence than their urban counterparts. She knows most of the people in Chinavíta and they know her.[26]

Yet Nora and her husband are planning to move to Bogotá in the near future. They cannot make enough money in Chinavíta to support three sons in college. Nora misses her two sons and wants to be with them. They believe their youngest son might benefit from a better, more exclusive school. Nora and her husband say it is their responsibility to be near and support their sons.

The parents are concerned that their children might not get the preparation they need to obtain middle-class jobs. They understand that in modern times a university

---

[26] I also visited with Nora in the city and noticed that she is not shown the deference and respect in the capital she is accustomed to in Chinavíta. This may be an additional reason why she prefers life in Chinavita, where she is considered an important community leader.

education is vital for a professional career. One son is indecisive about what to study at the university, and his grades are poor. He has started four different majors but lost interest in each one. He does not like the city and wants to be back in Chinavita.

Nora and her husband worry about their older sons when they come to Chinavita to visit. "There is nothing for them to do. They are bored," Nora says. In Chinavita they are open to the worst sort of influences. Nora reports that her sons' behavior in Chinavita is often disgraceful. They sit around on the street all day with their friends. They stay out late and drink all night. Many nights they come home drunk; some nights they do not come home at all. Nora knows the eldest is sleeping at a woman's house and worries about the problems that might entail.

> I am always worried because he [her son] does not come home. There are too many unmarried girls getting pregnant here. The boys go back to school or to work and the girls walk around the town with the babies. They have no shame.[27]

Nora is stuck in an upper-class paradox. She does not want her sons to leave for school and live unsupervised in Bogotá. Neither does she want them to stay in Chinavita, drinking at the corner with unsavory locals. Nora's concerns about Chinavita focus on three possibilities she sees as very real. First, her sons will get in trouble

---

[27] This is strikingly similar to the comments made by another mother on page 53.

while in Chinavita. Second, the sons may quit school and return home to loiter on street corners with no career prospects. Third, her youngest son might suffer from the reputation of rural schools and rural education.

Nora is also concerned about her sons while they are away. Bogotá is big, dirty, and violent. Unlike America, young men in Colombia live at home under their parents' supervision until marriage. Her sons have always had someone to care for them. Nora wonders about the condition of their city apartment and about their eating habits. She wonders if they drink to excess at school. She thinks about their study habits. She also misses the company of her sons.

The members of the Upper Pueblo social class live in town and work there, usually as professionals or sole proprietors. They work for salary or cash payment and pay for local goods and services in cash. Typical members of this class include store owners, health care workers, teachers, local officials, carpenters and woodworkers, masons and contractors, tailors and seamstresses, and possibly the town butcher. Larger pueblos (e.g., Chinavita and Garagoa) also will have doctors, lawyers, jeep or truck owners, and bankers. Older parents who are maintained by professionals in the cities are also included in this class.

This class wears modern clothes--slacks, sport jackets, sports shirts, leather shoes, dresses, hosiery, tennis shoes, jogging suits. They avoid more traditional dress: rubber boots, apargatas,[28] ruanas (thick wool ponchos), stetson hats, shawls, and machetes. They cook over gas and electricity, and have toilets and showers in their homes. They tend to be well educated (bachillerato or higher). They use "new" (daylight savings) time.[29] They tend to go to church on an irregular basis and do not participate in local religious pagentry. Yet, they consider themselves to be devout Catholics.

Individuals from the Upper Pueblo class tend to migrate as youths. The children of the Upper Pueblo class usually attend the local primary school. Later, while they are in their teens, they are sent away to private schools in larger urban areas. The larger towns (Garagoa, Tunja) have private colegios internados (boarding schools) that cater specifically to this social class. Many of these youngsters are sent to live with relatives while they attend school in Bogotá. They usually spend their teen years living and studying away and returning to the local

---

[28] covered sandals with open toes made of hemp, cloth, and/or old rubber tires.

[29] Daylight savings time versus standard time is a popular subject of debate between traditionalists and modernists in the Tenza Valley.

pueblo for vacations and holidays. They attend college either in Tunja or Bogotá.

Some individuals from this social class return to the local pueblo to live. Others will own a house in the pueblo, live and work in the city, and use their country home for vacations and long weekends. The families frequently have large landholdings in the area surrounding the village, and although this class does not farm itself, members supervise sharecropping, tenant and joint farming ventures, and hired laborers. As they grow older, many of the Upper Pueblo social class return to the pueblo to retire. Their children are frequent visitors.

Joaco: Lower Pueblo Class

Joaco is 33 years old and lives in a Bogotá apartment with his wife (age 20) and their son (age 3). Joaco lived in Pachavita until age 12 when his father died. Then his school attendance became sporadic. He quit school entirely at age 14 to look for work in Bogotá. Joaco labored as an intercity busdriver's assistant, as a mechanic, and as a chauffeur. Eventually he went to the mines in Muso; he is now a crew supervisor at an emerald mine in Gachelá.

Joaco's work is dangerous and dirty. The miners are heavily armed, and fights, robberies, and killings are common. The mine is located in an area often controlled by revolutionary guerrillas, and gunfights have broken out as guerrillas have attempted kidnappings or extortion at the

mine. Miners work long hours, knee-deep in mud and cold rain. Joaco works for a percentage of his find but often works months without uncovering an emerald. Sometimes the emeralds he finds are confiscated without pay. It is exhausting and lonely work away from family, friends, and safety. One emerald miner explained,

> The mines lose their glamour once you are here. We suffer here. Four months at a time, and the work is very, very hard. Young people keep coming here but they do not stay because the work is so hard. The children who come to the mines do not understand hard work.

Joaco is seldom at home. He often comes down from the mines about once a month for a weekend. He has set strict rules for his family while he is gone. His wife, who he married in Garagoa, is a shut-in in Bogotá. He does not want her to leave the apartment for any reason except to buy food. She wants to study, but Joaco will not allow it.

> She does not need anything.[30] I give her everything. Why does she need to go to school? I especially do not want her to waste money on studying. Why? She will no longer respect the family and she will want to be out on her own. She should be at home. If she goes to school, this [gestures around living room] will not interest her. She will want to be out in an important job somewhere. I do not want her to be out on the street somewhere. She needs to be here!

Joaco thinks his wife should be at home caring for the child and preparing for his visits. While he is at home, she is expected to cook his meals, wash his clothes, clean

---

[30] Literally, "Ella no necesita nada. Nada."

his boots, run his errands, and make sure he is resting comfortably. After all, he has been working long and hard for her comfort. Joaco closely monitors his wife's behavior, calling from the mine unexpectedly to see if she is home. He often asks friends and neighbors about her conduct.

Joaco believes that the city will turn her head--stealing away her interest from him and the home. I suggested that Joaco might be threatened by an educated, professional wife who has outside interests, and he agreed without hesitation. He explained that such an attitude was entirely natural and that his values were supported by the Bible and the Church.

The walls of Joaco's apartment are covered with reminders of the Church--religious artifacts, portraits of Christ's crucificion, prayers for help or protection, and small altars and plaques. Although Joaco does not go to church, he relies on God to protect him in his daily work at the mines. Joaco also says special prayers of protection before bed and upon arising, and at certain events and specific times throughout the day. He maintains a special diet and does not drink liquor, all because he believes that God will protect him if he does these special things.

Joaco grew up in the Tenza Valley's Lower Pueblo class. Members of the Lower Pueblo class live in town or

at the pueblo's edges, but may work either in the pueblo or on local farms. Individuals from this class labor at odd jobs, wash clothes, clean streets or buildings, work on local buses, as farm hands, or as ditch or grave diggers. They find what work they can. They deal in cash and barter, usually living on the edge of poverty. Many are women heading households because their husbands have left or work elsewhere. Young women hired locally as shopkeepers or barmaids for room and board and minimal wages also fall into this class.

Members of the Lower Pueblo class often rent a room in a pueblo house or on a farm within walking distance of town. Meals are frequently included as part of their pay or rent; they seldom have cooking facilities of their own. Some fortunate families have acquired shelter in the small government housing projects recently developed in some rural areas.

The members of the Lower Pueblo class generally dress in handed-down "city clothes" and poor-quality clothing bought in city discount stores (e.g., Ley, Tia, Only). Their diet is heavy in starches (rice, potatoes, yuca, lentils, plantains, pasta, arepas), with proteins derived principally from milk and fried eggs. They eat meat occasionally, but only in small portions. Dietary deficiencies are evident--rotting teeth, skin diseases and open sores, hair loss, failing eyesight, varicose veins,

and swollen stomaches. Alcoholism is common and contributes to the general poor health of this socioeconomic class.

A new addition to this class are unwed mothers. Pueblo residents claim that the number of unwed mothers has risen dramatically in recent years, and their open attitude and decision to remain in the pueblo is a new phenomenon.[31] Many unwed mothers live with relatives. Some find local work washing, cooking, or tending children. Some receive money from responsible fathers and lovers, others survive by wits and hard work alone. The children of these mothers characteristically attend a few primary grades, then drop out of school at an early age. Both parents are often uneducated as well. A vicious cycle of poverty is thus created in Colombian rural areas reminiscent of the American urban underclass of William Julius Wilson (1987).

In the Lower Pueblo class, migration is widespread and tends to occur at an early age without the benefit of extensive formal education. Many children finish only two or three years of primary school, and their school attendence is sporadic. As these children grow older, financial pressures and poverty force early attempts to enter the labor force. Many youngsters leave for Bogotá at

---

[31] This does not appear to be idle talk or exaggeration. Pachavíta women who discussed pregnancy with me were able to name nine local unwed mothers.

thirteen or fourteen years of age, seldom with their parent's permission. Girls typically become maids, while boys find work as laborers. Young migrants may live with relatives and work on the streets as vendors or trashpickers. Adventurous youths run away to the mines. Some migrants find work as bus assistants or greenhouse laborers. Others become thiefs, pickpockets, or prostitutes in urban areas. Some just disappear and are never heard of again.

It is common for members of this class to become semitransients, coming back seeking a respite from the city or to raise children. They stay a few months in the pueblo, then return to the city to raise cash or find work. Later, they appear again to bring money, visit family, or leave a child with relatives. It is not uncommon for men openly to keep two women, one in the city and one in the country, sire children by each, and attempt to support both families.

The Lower Pueblo class does not frequently attend church or participate in church ceremonies, but they are avid collectors of religious artifacts and ornamentation and habitually perform private religious rituals. They are not seen at mass, but sign the cross as they pass in front of the church or cemetery. They often wear crucifixes or scapulars, carry religious medallions, and have religious shrines in or near their place of residence. They mumble

prayers of suplication or protection to the saints or Virgin Mother, have religious posters in their rooms, and often decorate their busses, windows, and doors with day-glo religious decals. For the Lower Pueblo class, catholicism is part religion but also part magic--a system of rituals for luck and protection in a world where fate rules their lives.

Uma: Upper Campo Class

Uma is about 50 years old and lives with her husband, Rafico, on a farm near Pachavita. Her brick house has seven rooms, including a bathroom with toilet and shower, an indoor electric/gas kitchen and an outside wood-stove kitchen. The family owns a number of land parcels used for farming or raising cattle and pigs. Most of the nearer farms are worked by Rafico, often with hired hands [obreros]. The farms farther from Pachavita are worked by others under a sharecropping system.

Señora Uma and Don Rafico are prosperous, intelligent, and conservative stalwarts in the community. Others listen to their opinions. Uma is active at church, cleaning the sacristy and taking her turn at laundering vestments. She often is seen in town on church business. Rafico is considered knowledgeable about farming matters and techniques, and his advice often is sought. Their house and clothes are spotless. Their manners are impeccable.

There is a distinct division of labor in Uma's home. Rafico takes care of the farming and ranching chores and arranges business deals concerning livestock, hired hands, buying and selling property, and saving for future investment. Uma cleans and cooks, takes care of the yard animals (chickens, turkeys, dogs, cats, and a goat), and manages any children around the house. She sells milk, eggs, and farm goods independently of her husband for a small amount of money that Rafico allows her to spend for her own needs.[32]

Uma has nine children, all high school graduates. Eight live and work in Bogotá. She is proud that her children are educated because education is important in building culture and character. She deplores townspeople who often are uneducated and decries the lack of morality evident in the town's young.

> These pregnant girls, some not even seventeen, in Pachavita and Chinavita, do not understand life and what it means. I think forgetting the church has a lot to do with this. Instead of church, sex is the thing to do.

Don Rafico eagerly joins in.

> One point they all have in common is that they are lazy. They just want to buy things. We are a country family but the children all finished high school. Now people want to spend money more than they want an education. That is why they do not go to school.

---

[32] This is not usually the case. Many Upper Campo husbands allow their wives no separate money or decision-making authority.

Sra. Uma continues.

> Children in the campo are expected to work and work hard. I think they [town kids] all leave their families just because they want to work and get paid for it. They do nothing to help and they complain if you ask them to do anything. The children are a burden. They smoke and get drunk. The girls stay out all night and come home pregnant.

Uma is perturbed about the failure of the town's population to fulfill what she believes are their responsibilities to God and the church. The town boys do not come out to help prepare for holiday ceremonies and processions. During Corpus Cristi, few people bothered to erect altars in the town square or offer farm goods for the raffle. Only 10 years ago the plaza would have been filled. Now the church is in danger of closing because the parishioners do not support the priest. Young people do not go to church, and their parents do not make them do so. Uma believes decency, abstinence, and hard work are forgotten virtues in Pachavita.

Uma is an example of the Upper Campo class. Members of this class live and work on their own farms. They often own a number of farms, either individually or as family parcels. They work one or two of the larger tracts and sharecrop or rent the others. They hire obreros [paid laborers] to help with the farm work, paying them in farm produce, meat, and cash. They tend to own livestock that they sell for cash to reinvest in farming ventures. The

men ride horseback and plow using draft animals. They prefer to grow a single crop and sell that crop for cash at market. They live in houses cleaned and managed by wives who have distinct domestic tasks and do not share equally in farm labor, money, or decision-making.[33]

Upper Campo homes commonly include toilets, showers, plumbing, electricity, and often a gas stove or electric hotplate (although they often prefer to cook over wood). Home owners' diets are rich in a variety of fresh produce, eggs, milk, and meats. People of this class pride themselves on their bountiful and deliciously prepared food. Their homes are comparatively large (five to seven rooms), made of wood and brick, with roofs of manufactured materials.

Upper Campo class members wear traditional clothing: ruanas, apargatas, stetson hats, shawls, heavy boots. Men carry decorated machetes at their sides. Their shirts are often of fine and expensive woolen or cotton fabrics. Women wear hats and boots like the men but also own beautiful traditional dresses to wear on festive occasions. The traditional wear is often old and worn, but of obvious elegance and fine quality. Fathers come to church in thick ruanas, polished leather shoes, well-trimmed mustaches and oiled hair, while their daughters are dressed in pink

[33] For a well-researched analysis of women and their differing social roles in rural class society, see Deere and León de Leal (1982a, 1982b).

dresses and petticoats. The women wear white rubber boots, black leather shoes, or white apargatas, country dresses, ornate shawls, and the ever-present felt stetson hat.

The conservative Upper Campo class continues to use the old system of time (which they often call "God's time") and refure to switch to Colombian daylight savings time. For them, "new time" is another attack on the traditional, moral, dignified rural lifestyle. This class is the mainstay of the rural Catholic church. They attend services regularly; many attend mass every day. They also are the leading organizers of and participants in religious pageants, processions, displays, and other functions. They contribute produce and even livestock for church bazaars and auctions. Women from this class clean and decorate the church, sew and wash the clothes on church statues, often are seen at the rectory for meetings or on church business. They may have a religious shrine at home, but they do not decorate their homes with the exaggerated religious ornamentation typical of the lower classes.

Although the Upper Pueblo class lives and works on farms, they are frequent visitors to the pueblo and may even own a pueblo house to use during visits. They are well-known and respected members of the pueblo community and enjoy a high degree of social status. They, in turn, treat others within the village community with cordiality

and equanimity and are known for their generosity and "educated" good manners.

Many of the youths from the Upper Campo class migrate --but they tend to stay in school and graduate before migrating. Bachillerato teachers from Pachavita and Chinavita reported that their upper-level programs were comprised almost exclusively of children from this social class. A Chinavita high school teacher reports that,

> most of the students are from the campo, not from Chinavita. They either walk in or live in town. Some pay their rent by working for a family. They are not especially good students and often do not attend school. But it is very important to their parents that they graduate.

Upper Campos believe that education is a sign of dignity and sophistication--and class upbringing. Don Rafico explained:

> All my children went to school because it is the correct thing. Children need to become educated. These children who only go two or three years don't grow up to do anything. [My daughter] Gloria went to school to become cultured and educated.

Parents are a key factor in a child's decision to study. The expectations of the local culture, especially the parents, determine the education choice. There is an agenda of what the parents and culture expect from those in certain economic situations. Children from Upper Campo families are not needed for labor at home. The availability of time to study is a social class privilege.

Many families go to great lengths to maintain a son or daughter in school.

The children of this class seldom continue on to college. They cannot afford a university education, are unaware of their education options, and seem to be uninterested in academic or professional careers. The high school [bachillerato] diploma is the educational goal of this social class, and those who reach the goal, and their families, are satisfied. Further education is not seen as a feasible or realistic alternative.

Of the four rural social classes, this group is the only one in which many members migrate and many others elect to remain in rural areas. Those who migrate, usually with a bachillerato diploma, find good jobs and secure lives in the cities. Those who remain usually continue to work the family farming interests and take over as the parents grow older. Migrants from this social class keep in close contact with their parents and visit frequently.[34]

Upper Campo farmers are the true bulwarks of the Tenza Valley conservative community. The village priest garners his authority and influence from this powerful group. They support the church and go to mass. They organize and run religious pageants and festivals. Their children attend

---

[34] It was the easiest class to study because those in the campo were willing to discuss their lives openly and those in the city were easy to find through their families.

the local schools. They keep their money in the local Caja Agraria. They farm or manage most of the local property and thus strongly influence the local economy. They are knowledgeable in local affairs and their opinions are considered. The Upper Campo class is the linchpin of rural society and the moderating force in a rapidly modernizing world.

Carmen: Lower Campo Class

Carmen works as a cook and maid at the restaurant and boarding house in Pachavita. She began work there at age 12; she is now 29 years old. Carmen grew up in a large family on a farm away from pueblos. Her parents were abusive and there was not enough food to feed all the children. Carmen was unhappy, so her parents arranged for her to work in Pachavita.

Carmen never completed primary school. She did not go to school as a child--her parents were not interested in education and needed her at home. She studied at a night-school adult literacy program in Pachavita while working in the boarding house, but dropped out of the third grade. "I do not like school. I felt stupid there. Studying did not interest me. I like to stay at home and work. This is my life [gesturing around the kitchen]. I am content here."[35]

---

[35] The adult literacy program has since been cancelled because of lack of interest.

Carmen does not like to go to Bogotá and has not been there in three years. She prefers to go to Garagoa if she needs to shop, but she is not really comfortable even there. "Too much. Too dirty. Too busy. Too many cars and buses. I do not know anyone there and I'm afraid." The only thing she likes about cities is having her hair done. She told me about her last trip to Bogotá:

> I just do not like the city. I like to stay here in Pachavita in the kitchen. I get so bored in Bogotá that I cry. I do not know anyone. All the family ever does is watch TV and I cannot go out because I don't know how. They have a TV, carpet, radio, everything, but I still did not like it. After about 5 days, I cried because I was so bored.

Carmen grew up in the Lower Campo class. The members of this social class are usually the poorest and most isolated inhabitants in the Tenza Valley. They often live a sizeable distance from villages and travel there only on religious occasions or to conduct business. They appear in town, dressed in threadbare clothes--patched pants, old dresses, worn ruanas, wrinkled, faded hats, no shoes. They conduct their business, eat, and leave. It is often many hours walk back home.

Lower Campos seldom own their own land but work under a sharecropping system or on rented land. They tend the livestock of wealthier landholders or work as obreros. If they do have land, it is often of poor fertility and not easily accessible. Women share the farm labor with the males, working along with their husbands and fathers in the

fields. They also tend to participate in finance and decision-making responsibilities to a greater extent than women of the other rural social classes (Deere & León de Leal, 1982a, 1982b).[36] Lower Campo houses are made of dried mud and cut bamboo with thatched roofs. Dwellings have dirt floors, straw-mat beds [juncos], a few benches, and little else. These dwellings are prone to dissolving in heavy rains, harbor parasites, require constant repair, and frequently leak (Llovera, 1966). Families live on damp dirt floors without electricity or running water.

Lower Campos barter for necessary goods and services and deal less in the cash economy than do other classes. They have little cash on hand, make their own clothes, build their homes out of natural materials, cook over wood, grow food, and are admirably self-sufficient, although strikingly impoverished.

Members of this social class are highly religious but attend mass infrequently, probably because many of them must walk hours on foot to get to the nearest village. They are regular attendees at religious pageants, holidays, and processions, often their primary reason for coming to

---

[36] Sexual inequality in Colombian rural society may be considered an economic luxury. Upper-class males have the resources to use draft animals and obreros for help in the fields. The women are consigned to housework of lesser status and authority. Lower-class males have no surplus resources available to hire additional labor, so the women necessarily work in the fields. Their equal work affords them a more egalitarian status than their upper-class counterparts.

town and an important occasion in their lives. They tell time by the sun.

The rural poor usually grow all that they eat. The children from this class often suffer from malnutrition. Their diet of heavy starches provides few calories or proteins. Some children may attend a few years of primary school, but they seldom continue into the higher primary grades. Their school careers are characterized by high failure rates, absenteeism, and repeated grades.

The members of this social class seldom migrate. They usually live high in the mountains, far from villages and towns, leave their rural environments infrequently, do not involve themselves in local affairs, and often grow up, marry, have children, grow old, and die in relative isolation from the rest of rural society. Most children have never been out of the campo, and many adults have visited the city only a few times in their lives.

Some of the lower campos do leave their isolated farm areas; youngsters find jobs in a local pueblo, a relative brings an assistant into town to help in the home. Someone will venture out and migrate to a regional center in pursuit of fame or fortune. But even those who do come to live in the pueblos remain generally uneducated, illiterate, unskilled, and poor. They are the marginal group in Tenza Valley society.

Education and Migration: Social Class Generalizations

De Janvry, Fajardo, Errázuriz, and Balcázar (1991) suggested that social class characteristics influenced behavior in Colombian rural areas. In the Tenza Valley, migratory behavior and educational decisions are predictable by referring to social class distinctions.

Upper Pueblo

Upper Pueblo class members migrate to urban educational opportunity, then stay in urban areas as entrepeneurs or professionals. Parents see education as the key to economic prosperity and fear the negative influences the pueblo may have on their children. They think the best and most prestigious schools are in urban areas, and they send their children to those schools. Upper Pueblo children may finish many or all of the primary grades locally, but as a rule they will obtain their bachillerato diplomas elsewhere. They usually continue their education at a university in an urban area. Their parents may join them there.

There are exceptions. The eldest daughter of the Pachavíta general store owner recently graduated from the local high school, although her father is one of the wealthiest people in the area. She stunned local and national educational leaders, and everyone else, by receiving the highest score nationally on the ICFES college entrance exams. Her father is also exceptional. He loads

horses in the plaza for his customers, sweeps the store in front of his store, and does many other things, in public, uncharacteristic of his social class. As one townsperson put it, he "loads horses and gets dirty. He knows agriculture and explains how to use the things you buy."

This uncharacteristic behavior became the subject of a discussion between the store owner and myself. He explained that his business was new to the community. He wanted to demonstrate, especially to the farmers, that he was not a city outsider but a member of the community. "I pay attention to my image," he told me. "I talk about the farms and know what is going on in the community. I try to know everybody." Apparently, the owner's daughter went to the local school for the same reason--as a demonstration of community solidarity.[37]

The Upper Pueblos who have migrated return to their home towns frequently. They still know the locals and maintain rural ties and connections. Many buy a local farm or inherit a house in the village and spend holidays and vacations in the country. Retirees may return to live, as do some Upper Pueblos who dislike the urban atmosphere. Those who return are generally lawyers, doctors, agronomists, teachers, and other professionals able to find work locally.

---

[37] One interesting detail: the storeowner keeps the store doors closed during Sunday mass even though he is open for business.

Lower Pueblo

Members of the Lower Pueblo class typically migrate in the greatest numbers and at the earliest age. Poor village children drop out of school early, usually by the third grade. They are desperately poor but have no local means by which to improve their situation. These youngsters often go off to the mines or to live with a city relative by age 14 or 15. Some elope with a boyfriend or girlfriend. Others go alone. They have little to lose and are attracted by the city's excitement as much as the opportunity. Many have been fantasizing and planning on moving away for years.

Lower Pueblos do not believe that they can become successful because of education. Success, in their view, is being at the right place at the right time. One Santa Maria youngster, age 16, explained why he was planning to leave.

Alejandro: I want to move to the city, get a job, and build a nice house for my parents in Santa Maria. My father is not making any money anymore and every year we are poorer. I do not want to live in this house anymore. The city fascinates me.

Steve: What will you do there?

Alejandro: Anything. Something to make money.

Steve: And studying?

Alejandro: No. Look, we are poor. I have to make money and help my family. I need to make some money first and get us out of this situation [vaina].

Like the others, many of the Lower Pueblos come back to visit at the holidays. I spoke with some of them during Corpus Cristi. They said they were working as miners, maids, laborers, driver's assistants, night guards, factory workers. Later, a social worker assured me that some were probably thieves, trashpickers, prostitutes, and beggers instead. Uneducated Lower Pueblo migrants take what work they can get.

A few Lower Pueblos come back to the villages to live. Women with children decide to raise them in the campo. Others send children home to be raised by grandparents. Some come home to parents after months of unsuccessful job hunting. But most go and stay in the city, ill-prepared for the struggle of urban poverty but determined to try their luck.

Upper Campo

Upper Campos youths generally finish high school and then move away. Many Upper Campos also elect to stay in rural areas. Others come back to the campo, live on the farm, and involve themselves in agricultural activities. Parents in this social class believe that education signals social status, culture, dignity, and refinement. They expect and demand that their children finish high school, and they usually graduate locally.[38]

---

[38] This directly contradicts Chávez and Sánchez (1977), who argued that grade level achievement is inversely related to land ownership in rural Peru (i.e.,

Those Upper Campo graduates who move to the city obtain reliable work. No doubt their graduate status enhances their employability. Those who do migrate tend to maintain close ties with the home and communicate regularly. Those who stay or come back seldom move into town. They are proud to be farmers.

Table 1. Tenza Valley
Social Class Characteristics

SOCIAL CLASS	EDUCATION	MIGRATION AGE/MOTIVE	WORK IN CAMPO	WORK IN CITY
High Pueblo	college graduate	Leave as teens to schools	jobs or business in pueblo	trained profession
Low Pueblo	3-4 years primary	Leave as teens to find work	odd jobs in pueblo	no stable city work
High Campo	high school graduate	leave as graduates or stay	farm and ranch own land	reliable city jobs
Low Campo	very little if any	stay in campo	poor farmers or sharecrop	rarely in city

Lower Campo

The Lower Campo class are the least affected by modernization in rural Colombia. They receive little education and generally are illiterate. They tend to stay away from cities because they are fearful and suspicious of

---

the most educated own the least amount of land). Chávez and Sánchez believed that education and migration correspond because the educated have no land to tie them to rural areas.

change. They live at the survival level, in close contact with the land and the elements but not the modern world.

Changes in Consciousness as a Social Class Phenomenon

Underlying the multiplicity of factors included in the campesino's decision to migrate are discernable patterns of behavior. In the Tenza Valley, decisions about migration and education are predictable on the basis of social class. Different rural social classes harbor varying degrees of dissonance with rural culture and hold varying perceptions of the opportunity provided by urban modernization. Each class uses different relevance structures to make decisions about education and migration.

Sorokin (1953) described the American social class structure during its period of modernization:

> One can easily distinguish the following major classes in the Western society of the past two or three centuries: (a) the industrial-labor, or proletarian, class; (b) the peasant-farmer class; (c) the dwindling class of large landowners; (d) the capitalist class, now being transformed into the managerial class. (p. 90)

The four Tenza Valley social classes approximate Sorokin's (1953) scheme. Variations in economic opportunity, dissonance, beliefs, mores, and habits solidify social class distinctions. Differences in school attendance help rigidify social class boundaries. Underlying it all, changes in consciousness and class relevance structure distinctions (Schutz, 1970a, 1970b)

lead to contrasts in the shared interpretions that motivate decisions and actions in the real world.

Upper Pueblo dissonance derives from lack of educational and professional opportunity. Upper Pueblos tend to migrate as teens to urban schools. They become economically successful college graduates in the urban economy. An eagerness to maintain social class distinctions and class advantage through education suggests that they correspond to Sorokin's capitalist managerial class.

Lower Pueblo dissonance results from lack of rural economic opportunity. Lower Pueblos tend to migrate as teens to urban jobs and perceived opportunities. They attend a few years of primary-school, leave for the city, and become laborers in the urban economy. The mass migration of this class to job opportunities in the modern economy targets them as Sorokin's new industrial-labor class.

Upper Campo dissonance comes from the threatened privilege of Upper Campos in the modern order. They migrate after high school or elect to stay in rural areas. They generally are successful in either area. Their preoccupation with prestige and status, and their ownership of large parcels of the Tenza Valley farmland suggest that this group is similar to Sorokin's landowner class.

Lower Campos generally are uneducated and do not migrate. They live marginally in rural areas. They rarely are dissonant because they are seldom in contact with the modernizing world. They correspond to Sorokin's peasant class.

Hyman (1953) showed that social stratification harbors differing value systems for the disparate social classes. Stratification is perpetuated by the value mechanisms of the social groups. The upper social classes value education more than the lower classes. Upper class individuals aspire to more lucrative occupations than individuals from the lower classes. As Hyman explained,

> An intervening variable mediating the relationship between low position and lack of upward mobility is a system of beliefs and values within the lower classes which in turn reduces the very voluntary actions which would ameliorate their low position. (pp. 426-427)

Whether or not they realize it,[39] the value systems of the upper classes perpetuate their distinction and those of the lower classes their disadvantage.

Modernity validates the relevance structures of Upper Pueblos. They see modern change entrepreneurally, as an opportunity to capitalize on their privileged status. Lower Pueblos interpret modernity opportunistically, hoping good fortune and economic security may finally come their way. Upper Campos perceive modernity antagonistically, as a threat to established traditions and hard-won dignity.

---

[39] Hyman's italics, p. 427.

Lower Campos interpret modernization passively, as an event irrelevant to their immediate lives.

Each social class uses different values and interpretations of the modernization of rural life to arrive at education decisions. Upper Pueblos educate their young because they want the modern economic and career advantages of a higher education. Lower Pueblos forego schooling because they believe economic success comes from hard work and good fortune. For Upper Campos, learning perpetuates their traditional privilege and bestows prestige, dignity, and elegance. Lower Campos are too involved in survival matters to educate their young. Each of these behaviors typifies distinct types and levels of dissonance and distinct economic and social perceptions of modernity--a different relevance structure (Schutz, 1970) used in making sense of a rapidly changing reality.

The motives and incidence of migration hinge on the relevance structures used by each social class to interpret rural reality and modern city life. The robust urban culture's portrayals of city life are seductive and numerous. Cities offer employment opportunity, excitement, and glamour. Migration is in part a response to the boredom of rural life. Klapp (1986) suggested that strategies like migration are placebos for chronic boredom. Opportunity, glamour, dissonance, and boredom are cultural

constructs based on perceptions of a reality that varies according to social-class determinatives.

Social Class Attitudes: Perpetuating Social Inequality

Social class bias is evident in Tenza Valley society. Social class attitudes also are becoming increasingly hostile. The upper classes are intolerant of lower class modern attitudes, which they see as immoral, irresponsible, and rebellious. They consequently provide less assistance and opportunity to those of lesser means. Thus, class ethnocentrism becomes an additional factor in the decision to migrate.

Traditionally, those without money could live as maids, assistants, helpers, or shopkeepers in the homes of the well-to-do. A young woman, for example, might live in the back bedroom of a pueblo family's home, earning her room and board by cooking meals, doing the wash and cleaning, and generally helping out around the home. Other young women might earn room and board and a small salary as storekeepers. Young men could live in town in a rented bedroom while working at odd jobs around town or in the fields.

Yet the wealthier and more traditional families are not as willing as they once were to accept boarders or live-in employees. They have lost trust in the moral values and work habits of the lower classes and have closed their homes to them. There is often no place for

independent young poor people to live. One older women in Chinavita, who accepted boarders for years, explains why they are no longer welcome:

> I live alone because I have no confidence in [live-in] helpers or the young girls these days. I do not trust them. They used to take care of me; now I have to take care of them. The girls stay out all night.
>
> I tried boys because of the pregnancy problem. I have had problems with them too. They are lazy. They do not help you. They smoke, get drunk, and ride around on motorcycles.
>
> Young people today do not know how to work. They want easy jobs where they can make lots of money. They do not like to live with me and I do not like them. All the good youths have gone away.

The upper classes believe that poor parents send their children away to find money to bring back home.[40] They claim that poor parents want their children in the city looking for money, and upper-class families who accept boarders are helping youths to stay in the pueblo against their parents wishes:

> The parents want to get them out of the house so that they do not have to feed them. They want them to go make lots of money to give to the parents. They want them to move away from the pueblo and get money.

There are other ideas about why the poor are undesirable tenants:

> "They are lazy."

---

[40] My conversations with lower class parents disconfirmed this notion. Many poor parents were fearful and distressed that their children lived in Bogotá, and prayed constantly for their welfare. Some young migrants told me they had run away or eloped over their parents' objections.

"The girl may get pregnant."

"They do not go to church or receive the sacraments."

Thus, it appears that if young people actually do want to stay on in small villages, establishing themselves and working their way up, they may find themselves without accomodations and not welcome. The community expects the young to migrate.

Such attitudes from those with money make it difficult for the poor to stay in rural areas. But the attitudes of the poor about themselves, each other, and their means and chances of success also make upward mobility difficult. The pueblo poor do not educate their young, inhibit the life chances of their families, and depend on luck and grace for success, money, and protection. They blame their condition on others or a fluke of luck. They have acquired what Thomas (1979) calls "learned helplessness." They do not perceive themselves as competent masters of their own fates. They see achievement and success as the result of luck instead of initiative, talent, and effort. They fail to become instigators and advocates in their own behalf and do not prepare for success. Instead, they wait for urban opportunity and luck to boost them into affluence.

The miner Joaco gave up on school at an early age--eager for the quick cash of a bus assistant's wages. He also is limiting his wife's life chances by not allowing her to study. He relies on God and good fortune to keep

himself safe at the mines, and prays to religious artifacts for help in finding emeralds. He works hard because he has to, all the while waiting for his lucky day.

I lived in Santa Maria with the family of a driver named Eugenio. Only 41 years old, his career with an energy company is ending. He is getting fewer and fewer hours at work. He can no longer adequately feed his family but is unwilling to change careers.

> I have always been a driver. I know how to do that. To change at my age is very difficult. I would not know what to do.

Eugenio's plans about his future are unrealistic. His current salary is insufficient for the needs of his family and he has no other present career options. Yet he anticipates financial success in the immediate future.

> Eugenio: When I get some money I want to build a nice house like the engineers [where I work]. I will build it right here on this land. Use the same floor plan as the engineers' houses at the company. It will only cost about eight million pesos.
>
> Steve: Where will you get the money?
>
> Eugenio: [Angrily] People never have any confidence in me!

Eugenio has told his three sons that he wants them to finish high school, but he admits in front of them that he does not think they will graduate. Neither do they. One son explained,

> Jorge: I would like to study medicine, but it is too hard and I will never study anyway. My father cannot pay for that. Agronomy or engineering would also be good, anything

that makes money. But I do not think about careers. My father cannot pay for that.

Mechas: But can't you get a scholarship? Other students do not have money and they graduate from the National [University].

Jorge: I do not think so. Look, we are poor people.

Mechas: Doesn't your father want you to finish high school?

Jorge: I need to get money. Studying is for people who [already] have money.

Eugenio told us that he would like his sons to succeed, to be more successful than he was. But they will have to do it on their own. All Eugenio can do is

> teach them how to drive cars and trucks. At least they will always be able to get a job and their families will not go hungry. I have never gone hungry while I was driving. They can learn some mechanics from me too.

Eugenio's wife went to a trade school and studied typing. She wants to go to the city and find work. She acknowledges that the family has serious financial problems. But Eugenio does not want her to work. He says he can provide everything his family needs. The boys, Eugenio says, need her at home because he is always away working. Leave the house? No, he has already invested too much money in it and as soon as his luck turns he will begin building again.

Eugenio's family takes no more responsibility for the condition and outcomes of their lives than he does. They seldom clean the house and garbage attracts flies. The

teenage boys climb across furniture and their beds with muddy shoes. Things are broken and no one repairs them. The refrigerator door is constantly left open, often for hours.[41] The house and lot are in disrepair, the walkway is flooded, and trash sits in piles. The teenage boys are not inclined to clean it up.

Alejandro: We need money to fix up the house.

Mechas: Can't you get boards and cover up the holes? Get that shovel and move the garbage? Put stones in the walk?

Alejandro: It won't make it any better. I hate this house. It is my father's fault this house is so ugly [tan feo], not mine.

Mechas: Is all of this your father's fault?

Alejandro: Yes, we are poor because he is irresponsible.

Mechas: But blaming your father will not make anything better.

Here, Eugenio's wife breaks in:

> But it is true. Eugenio had a good salary for a long time. He spent it all on stupid things. He did not save anything. Now he is not making any money and we have nothing. If he had been responsible we wouldn't have to live like this.

She fails to note that many of the "stupid things" were actually bought for her, including a washing machine and gas stove.

---

[41] Eugenio's electricity is not connected to a meter. Like many rural poor, he connected his house illegally to power lines spanning the valley.

The miner Joaco's wife, Zulma, does not take responsibility for her life decisions either. Her apartment is dirty and disorganized. Most of the furniture has been broken by Camilo, her unruly 3-year-old son, who has even torn off moldings and punched holes in the walls.

> When I was in school I never thought I would marry an emerald miner [esmeraldero]. Now I am living like this [gesturing around apartment]. Joaco is never here to help with Camilo. We are always in danger and there are always pistols in the house. I am shut in here without any money and I cannot leave. It is all because I married him.

During my 3-day stay in Joaco's home, Camilo threw plates of food against the walls, repeatedly rung the neighbors' doorbells, hit and kicked his mother, and intentionally broke a chair and a doorknob. Instead of correcting Camilo, Zulma continuously cursed Joaco for not controlling his son. Joaco, who visits Bogotá only periodically, was not even present during our stay.

Eugenio and his family have options that may improve their situation. His wife can find work. He can look for more reliable work. His sons certainly can repair and clean their own home. Joaco's wife can take control of her own life instead of resigning herself to his control and his fate. But blaming, pride, resignation, negative thinking, a reliance on changing luck, all cooperate in keeping these individuals down. Eugenio will not leave Santa Maria, and his sons will have no reason to stay.

Zulma does not take responsibility for her life, but blames her misery on Joaco.

These cases exemplify the lower class tendency to engage in self-defeating behaviors because of the poors' perception that they are not in control of their lives. A reliance on luck, an unwillingness to grant wives and children equal responsibility and status, blaming and shifting the blame, and learned helplessness contribute to the maintenance of their own social and economic inequality.

The upper class in rural society also harbors attitudes about themselves and others that perpetuate class distinctions and economic advantage. Upper Campo parents' insistence that their children finish school, when many of their peers do not, perpetuates the distinctiveness and economic success of this class. Upper Pueblo's college-educated children gain a substantial economic advantage over their peers by securing lucrative jobs that require education. Lower Pueblos, on the other hand, are hindered by their reliance on luck over education. The upper income group sees differing class attitudes as the source of much of their success.

José is the son of Upper Pueblo parents; he now lives in Bogotá and works as an agronomist. My conversition with him outlines his social class ethnocentrism and how the attitudes of his family perpetuate social class advantage.

José: The parents are the important factor in the decision to migrate. Especially among the campesinos, the children do not continue to study, even if they want to, because the fathers discourage it. They see education as a modern contrivance [traza] that may subvert the father's authority.

Steve: I don't understand.

José: Look. They want to be the boss in their own homes. They do not want a wife or children who know more than they do. The issue [vaina] is who is in charge and who is the authority.

Steve: Are they all like that?

José: No. My family is a good example. We are 12 children. We all studied at the university at the highest level that we could because our parents pushed us and expected this of us. One brother dropped out and my parents were terribly angry. This is the point of what I am trying to say. There is an agenda of what the parents expect and that is what the children do.

The poor are not taught how to be successful. They do not know how to act in the city or at school. There are not as many barriers to success as they think there are. They end up where their parents and the culture expect them to.

Much of what José claimed is true. My experience with Joaco and his wife (see pp. 64-65) verified the notion that fathers and husbands may feel threatened by educated and worldly-wise family members. What is surprising is José's insightful analysis of how rural social stratification is perpetuated by tradition, beliefs about class, and family support for education. Of course, not all fathers and husbands are as controlling and insecure as José suggests. The interview with Eugenio (see pg. 96) suggests that

parents may want and support the best for their children, but that their own cultural beliefs and expectations may subvert their intentions.

In summary, modernity has become a central factor in rural life. Modernity promotes dissonance within the traditional rural culture. Modernity elicits different changes in the consciousness of the disparate Tenza Velly social classes, and each social class responds to modernity by educating its children differently and engaging in distinctive migratory behavior. Economic advantages accruing from these and other class behaviors combine with class attitudes to perpetuate social inequality and the socioeconomic class structure.

The Education-Migration Hypothesis Revisited

We have come full circle to return to the education-migration hypothesis anew, but this time with fresh information that illuminates the problem of how modernity's march into the Tenza Valley has transformed the consciousness of the valley's residents. Modernity has eroded the shared meanings of the traditional culture and caused dissonance in the minds of valley inhabitants.

Each of the Tenza Valley's four social classes experiences change differently and perceives modernity in its own way. Each social class reinterprets traditional conceptions of reality on the basis of unique relevance structures. Each social class responds to modernity with

education and migration decisions that reflect their unique perceptions and interpretations of modern reality.

Hyman (1953) and Paredes and Soberón (1977)[42] noted that different rural social classes aspired to dissimilar educational goals. Upper class rural inhabitants aspired to a higher education and most of the rural poor sought only elementary schooling. Paredes and Soberón suggested that education leads rural inhabitants to devalue the traditional rural lifestyle in favor of modernization. Like Parra and Zubieta (1982), Paredes and Soberón portrayed the rural teacher as both the ambassador of urban modernity and its exemplar.

Paredes and Soberón (1977) highlighted the crux of the education-migration hypothesis. They argued that the educated have the highest propensity to leave because education promotes migration. Education provides information about urban culture, champions modernity, and causes rising expectations among rural students. Migrants are better educated than the rural population at large, understand modern life more thoroughly, and therefore are more likely to leave.

Paredes and Soberón's study and my Tenza Valley study also indicate that migration is a widespread phenomenon throughout the social classes. Dissonance within rural

---

[42] Paredes and Soberón studied social class systems in highland Peru.

culture is a common Tenza Valley phenomenon. Aspirations to city life are high at all social levels. Migration is a common occurrence among three of the four social classes. The majority of migrants are educated, but migration to urban centers is by no means restricted to high school or even grade school graduates.

In the Tenza Valley, Upper Pueblos, Lower Pueblos, and most Upper Campos eventually migrate to urban centers. The Upper Pueblos and Upper Campos tend to be educated migrants. The Lower Pueblos, a minority of the total migrant population,[43] typically are undereducated. The Lower Campos, of course, usually remain in rural isolation. Thus, in the Tenza Valley the facts on which the education-migration hypothesis are based are valid--the majority of migrants are educated.

This study shows, however, that while the facts behind the education-migration hypothesis are accurate, the hypothesis itself is false. Education does not cause migration, but instead the two occur together as rural inhabitants make sense of and react to the inroads of modernity in rural areas according to class-based interpretations. Education is one option for addressing

---

[43] More rural inhabitants live on farms than in towns. My informal census suggests that Lower Pueblos comprise 20% of the total rural population, and Upper Pueblos and Upper Campos about half. Lower Campos comprise about 30% of the total population. In contrast, Molina (1991) suggested that about 62% of the rural population was lower class.

the cultural dissonance brought about by modernity. Migration is an equally plausible option for confronting the problems and opportunities of modernity. Neither choice elicits or controls the other; they are concurrent choices in a changing rural environment.

There is a pattern to how individuals deal with dissonance, make sense of the modernizing rural environment, and make education and migration choices. Individuals interpret reality and utilize relevance structures in making these decisions based on social class characteristics. Tenza Valley society contains a social stratification system wherein class values and aspirations play an important role in education and migration decisions.

A Theory of Rural Education and Migration

The point of an ethnography is to offer a perspective on a given situation that illuminates the underlying cultural meanings participants use in making sense of the situation. An ethnography should explain a social and conceptual framework constructed around frequently reoccurring cultural themes. It should summarize and encapsulate the data and its underlying meaning for local actors. The emergent ethnography should be more than a list of cultural characteristics, it should be a holistic interpretation of cultural elements that goes beyond simple description to the development of theory (Woods, 1988).

Tenza Valley migration and education processes are best explained by the traditional sociological constructs of social class and modernity. The core construct of dissonance encapsulates education and migration processes and explains social class variability. As each social class reacts distinctly to the dissonance brought about by modernity, social class variability is manifested in how groups make education and migration decisions.

The theory that summarizes this dissertation is that rural modernization causes dissonance with traditional society. Education and migration decisions reflect the social change and uncertainty modernity represents. Individuals make education and migration decisions on the basis of their social class. These decisions indicate different relevance structures used to interpret modernity. These decisions serve to perpetuate social class inequality.

Qualitative researchers first generate a theory based on behavior observed in the field and then turn to literature to find support for the emergent theory (Hutchinson, 1988). Max Weber described the problems of modernity's bureaucracy and impersonalization and the blessings of innovation and opportunity (Gordon, 1987). Peter Berger (1977) studied how modernity erodes the traditional "nomic processes" with which citizens make sense of their culture and alter the relative structure of

individuals' consciousness. The process is not without pain. He saw the loss of ready-made typifications that help citizens to order reality. The work of both theorists supports this study's conclusions.

The rural social classes outlined in the study correspond well with Sorokin's (1953) scheme of social classes during the American modernization period. Hyman (1953) showed that social stratification harbors differing value systems for the disparate social classes. He also suggested, along with Paredes and Soberón (1977), that education and migration decisions are made on the basis of underlying social class typifications and perceptions, supporting this study's rejection of the education-migration hypothesis. Preston's (1987) claim that migration decisions are a multifaceted phenomenon and De la Cadena's (1988) argument that differences in migratory behavior were essentially social-class phenomena are also reaffirmed by this study.

The ethnographic thesis should lead the researcher to find other theories that enhance the emergent proposition. Qualitative theorists go back to extant research to see how the new thesis builds on the base of current theoretical knowledge. In the next chapter I show how my analysis coincides with other research targeted at dissonance, integration, and education in modernizing economies. It highlights the work of American philosopher John Dewey as a

model for understanding the pressures of modernity on citizens in a democratic society. Dewey also suggested how schools might best serve their students in times of modern change.

CHAPTER SIX
EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Heraclitus once said that "Nothing endures but change." As modernity brings about change in society, traditional and modern cultures often clash. In rural Colombia, this clash of cultures in turn has brought about changes in attitudes about education, rural life, and the appeal of urban areas. Change will occur in rural Colombia regardless of the wishes and fears of local residents; it is a necessary consequence of modern times. Although change may be inevitable, the role that the schools may play in a modernizing world is subject to different interpretations. The Colombian Marxists, Paulo Friere, and John Dewey each have addressed how the schools might best contribute to a social order in transition.

Colombian Educational Marxism

The common position among Colombian Marxist educational theorists is that rural social problems devolve from the exploitation of the local economy by capitalist interests. The education system helps sustain exploitation by promoting the legitimacy of economic inequality and the underlying ideology of capitalism. Campesinos will remain poor, the Marxists claim, until they revolt against

exploitative interests to capture the means of production for the benefit of the local population. Thus, the proper role of rural education is to inculcate a revolutionist ideology among the rural poor.

Mejia's (1988) work is typical of the Marxist basis of many Colombian educators. He recommended teaching Marxist/Leninist philosophy and ideology in rural schools in order to rid farmers of capitalist indoctrination. Colombian schools, he said, should transmit radical political ideals and revolutionary goals by exposing the exploitive roots of the rural economic system. The schools should show farmers that local control of farms and distribution systems is the key to economic viability. Rural youngsters should learn to struggle against bourgeois interests, domination, and oligarchy.

Another prominent Colombian educator, Parra Sandoval, stated In La Escuela Inconclusa (1986) that capitalists manipulate the rural farm system so they can control the food supplies of urban industrial labor. Rural farmers are pawns in a complex system of manpower and resource exploitation. Education perpetuates that exploitation because the schools transmit the minimal skills that allow rural workers to serve their economic overseers but do not allow farmers to see the true nature and origins of their plight.

The Marxist ideology offers educators a clear and singular purpose, but it is inappropriate to the Colombian rural context. Colombian Marxists fail to come to terms with the real-life situation of their own rural population. Colombian farmers work on their own small plots or for other small-scale farmers, bartering goods and services in a marginal cash economy. There is no widespread system of outsider landholdings or large hacienda farming. Few local goods are marketed in the city. Local businesses are locally owned by small entrepreneurs. Rural dissidents want a greater involvement in modern capitalism, not its overthrow. It is difficult to apply a Marxist ideology of exploitation directly to rural life, or to rural education. It has few practical applications for the Colombian rural economy, lifestyle, and system of schooling. Marxism seems to be a template that some have forced on studies of rural Colombia without regard to whether it actually fits.

Freire's Emancipatory Pedagogy

Brazilian Paulo Freire (1970, 1973) proposed an education model for developing nations based on critical literacy skills. He believed that critically-conscious individuals see how modern language, media events, and cultural artifacts "privilege" certain activities and deem them valuable and important and devalue others and deem them worthless, destructive, or inconsequential. Literacy education gives individuals the skills to critically

examine the subjectivity and bias that underlie the construction of their culture. They are empowered to resist the imposition of values and activities that are counterproductive to their interests and can promote those values and activities that operate in their behalf. Pedagogy is emancipatory when critical literacy empowers individuals to detect, understand, and resist the shackles of cultural oppression.

Freire is useful in a number of ways. He suggested that when individuals understand how their culture works, they can make it work for their benefit. He believed that cultures are best understood as systems of shared constructed meanings. He argued that society is not a static system to be endured or overthrown, but a dynamic system where educated individuals can utilize the social and political processes which construct society to participate as constructive agents for change. Friere based education on the concept of inclusion, not revolution.

But Freire drifted towards the Marxist interpretation when he emphasized the differences between the affluent and the impoverished. He perceived a system of oppression where the advantaged exploit the disadvantaged. He believed that the impoverished can use critical literacy to overthrow political and economic power and establish a new social order. Freire saw the fundamental issue as

oppression versus privilege. Freire's system focused on peaceful revolution to throw off a cultural system of oppression.

Freire's emphasis on competition for political and economic ascendency is inappropriate to the rural Colombian context, where different classes each interpret tradition and modernity distinctly and struggle to resolve the clash of cultures in their own way. In the Tenza Valley, the privileged and the oppressed suffer from the same stresses of change, modernity, and cultural dissonance. The Tenza Valley struggle is between clashing traditional and modern perspectives. The Colombian rural experience hinges not on competing class interests, but on coping with cultural change.

Dewey's Education for Modern Times

John Dewey (1859-1952) was an American philosopher and educational theorist who lived and wrote during America's period of industrialization and great European migrations. Dewey believed that when times change, the schools should serve as a mechanism for the integration of worker-citizens into modern culture. Dewey established working principles for schools in an industrializing democratic society based on the underlying principle that schools must build ethical, knowledgeable, and skilled citizens if modern democracy is to thrive.

Dewey (1916) saw that one consequence of modernization was the estrangement of the individual from society. What Dewey predicted is occurring in rural Colombia. The inroads of modernity have led to dissonance where individuals question traditional society and their place in it. The fragmentation of experience and shared meaning brought about by modernity has caused the erosion of traditional values and the consequent alienation of the rural populace.

Freedom and Culture

In Freedom and Culture (1939), Dewey discussed freedom in a manner suggestive of the rural Colombian context. He maintained that freedom is not just a political phenomenon, but one that entails the entire cultural experience, including law, industry and commerce, science and technology, the arts and communication, values and morals, as well as politics. The fundamental issue about freedom is whether individuals are culturally empowered to act in their own behalf or subject to external forces that control their destinies. Freedom becomes an issue when cultures clash because individuals often experience a loss of control over their destinies. Freedom is not just a political or economic issue but a moral concern as well.

Dewey continued in a manner that is startlingly descriptive of the Tenza Valley situation.

> Common observation, especially of the young, shows that nothing is more exasperating and more resented than stirring up certain impulses and tendencies and then checking their manifestations. We should also note that a period of uncertainty and insecurity, accompanied as it is by more or less unsettlement and disturbance, creates a feeling that anything would be better than what exists. (p. 39)

Dewey described how irrational, sweeping overgeneralizations, like an unquestioning fascination with modernity and migration, often accompany change.

> The generalizations are so general in the sense of remoteness from the events to which they are supposed to apply that they are matters of opinion, and frequently the rallying cries and slogans of factions and classes. (p. 42)

In the Tenza Valley, this is what has happened to notions of modern city life. The overgeneralizations of success and fortune have clouded the reality of events in the city. Migration has become a panacea for the plight of the lower rural classes. Dewey continued,

> Events are sensational in the degree in which they make a strong impact in isolation to other events that give them their significance. They appeal to those who like things raw. (p. 42)

Attraction of the sensational seems to be exactly what is transpiring in the Tenza Valley. Notions of city opulence have been decontextualized from the issues and problems of urban modernity. Dewey told us how this ties into rural literacy education.

> One effect of literacy under existing conditions has been to create in a large number of persons an appetite for the momentary "thrills" caused by impacts that stimulate nerve endings but whose connections with cerebral functions are broken.

> Then stimulation and excitation are not so ordered that intelligence is produced. At the same time the habit of using judgment is weakened by the habit of depending on external stimuli. Upon the whole it is probably a tribute to the powers of endurance of human nature that the consequences are not more serious than they are. (p. 44)

This is what has happened in Colombia's rural areas. As individuals ponder the thrills of city life, dissonance sets in. Greed, desperation, resentment, shame, hope, and fantasy replace reason as driving forces in making decisions. Individuals become controlled by events and passions, losing their freedom to the sweep of external forces brought on by cultural change.

Dewey described what is forfeited when those once in charge of their fates are swept away by modernization.

> Before we engage in too much pity for the inhabitants of our rural regions before the days of invention of modern devices for circulation of information, we should recall that they knew more about the things that affected their own lives than the city dweller of today is likely to know about the causes of his affairs. They did not possess nearly as many separate items of information, but they were compelled to know, in the sense of <u>understanding</u>,[44] the conditions that bore upon the conduct of their own affairs. Today the influences that affect the actions performed by individuals are so remote as to be unknown. We are at the mercy of events acting upon us in unexpected, abrupt, and violent ways. (pp. 44-45)

For Dewey, individuals are not free if they do not understand the events that control their lives. Such is the situation brought about by modernity in the Tenza

---

[44] Dewey's emphasis.

Valley. Individuals no longer understand fully the times and ways in which they live. Because of this lack of understanding, they become disillusioned and frustrated. They leave school, migrate to urban centers, or take other actions which may thwart their success in the new social order. They no longer manage their own fates effectively in the face of change.

The Schools as Mediating Structures

Dewey (1927) believed that the individual is not just a product of nature, but a product of the social environment. The schools' role in this environment is to

> develop through the give-and-take of communication an effective sense of being an individually distinctive member of a community; one who understands and appreciates its beliefs, desires and methods, and who contributes to a further conversion of organic powers into human resources and values. (p. 154)

Dewey (1916) advocated that schools change to meet the needs of changing social conditions and prepare individuals to participate as worker-citizens in a modernizing society. Dewey believed that schools should serve as mediating structures between social change and individuals estranged by that change, overcoming through education the fragmentation of experience and alienation suffered by the modern citizen. In this way, the freedom that underlies democracy is preserved.

Education should teach citizens how to beome active and contributing members of society when times change.

Education should provide individuals with the information and decision-making skills that allow them to make sense of new situations and take action in their own behalf. When individuals are excluded from education they lack the preparation and skills they need to participate effectively in the construction of new social meanings. They have not learned to cope adequately with a changing world. They have lost their freedom.

Stratification, Freedom, and Education

Joel Spring (1980) believed that when the structure of education becomes exclusive, either because some citizens are forced out of school or because education does not serve their needs, the educational system becomes a mechanism in the maintenance of social stratification. Career patterns are formalized, so that education becomes a prerequisite of employment and advancement. Marketplace competition for preferred jobs is subverted by a formalized pattern of advancement originating in the schools. Social mobility becomes exclusionary because it is based, in part, on an exclusionary system of schooling. The upper classes monopolize education anticipatory to labor market monopolization. Those left at the schoolhouse door are left out of the labor pool as well. Education ends up not being a means to get ahead but a means for staying in the same place.

In Democracy and Education (1916), Dewey made a similar point. In a democratic society, education should have a liberating effect upon the individual citizens. They, in turn, should be the driving force that underlies the democratic process. When educational services are rendered along social class lines, only certain groups benefit. This subverts the intended democratic effect of education in a free society. As Dewey put it,

> after a greater individualization on one hand, and a broader community of interest on the other have come into existence, it is a matter of deliberate effort to sustain and extend them. Obviously a society to which stratification into separate classes would be fatal, must see to it that intellectual opportunities are accessible to all on equable and easy terms. A society marked into classes need be specially attentive only to the education of its ruling elements. A society which is mobile, which is full of channels for the distribution of a change occurring anywhere, must see to it that its members are educated to personal initiative and adaptability. Otherwise, they will be overwhelmed by the changes in which they are caught and whose significance or connections they do not perceive. (pp. 87-88)

The results in the Tenza Valley are much as Dewey suggested. Social stratification has led to a lack of mobility and an inability among many individuals to react productively to change brought about because of modernity. Access to education is no longer "equable and easy." Individuals left out of educational and community processes are overwhelmed by change. Citizens cannot cope with changes the significance of which they cannot perceive. Rural and urban social inequality is perpetuated, like

Spring (1980) predicted, and individual and social growth, community interests, freedom and democracy, all suffer in the process.

In summary, education is an important means by which society manages and directs social change. Those not educated to manage change and take new decisions in their own self interests are unable to cope with modernity. They consequently are excluded from success in the new order. Social stratification excludes groups from the social, economic, and educational processes of a society. This perpetuates a vicious cycle of disadvantage because the excluded do not learn how to deal effectively with change. Their non-participatory status in the traditional order precipitates their exclusion from success in the modern order. Community interests and individual interests suffer equally.

Dewey's Conception of Change

This study has demonstrated that campesinos do not believe rural schooling provides opportunities to enhance participation in the modernizing world. Upper Pueblos find rural education inadequate in modern times and send their children elsewhere. Lower Pueblos see no connection between what is learned in rural schools and what is needed for urban life. Upper Campos educate locally only to preserve tradition and privilege. Lower Campos are not integrated into rural education and are entirely unprepared

for the onslaught of the modern world. None of the four classes sees rural schooling as an opportunity to better understand and succeed in modern times.

Many rural inhabitants perceive that the traditional structure, including the schools, has little left to offer. As one Santa Maria teenager put it,

> the old people, the priest, the teachers, the farmers, they are not in the same world as we are. [The village] is all [there is] for them. They do not know the world is bigger, that there is more to do.

The rural schools are aligned with the traditional structure in this young man's mind. Schools are seen as another bastion of conservatism, not as a means to prepare for inevitable social change. The teen sees education as a barrier to success in modern life, not as a means to succeed in modern life. He, and countless others like him, seek freedom <u>from</u> education, not freedom <u>through</u> education.

Dewey (1916) called upon schools to modify existing structures in order to meet change head on--preparing the estranged citizen for the modern lifestyle and world of work. In Colombia, contrary to the ideas of Parra and Zubieta (1982), the rural schools have failed to teach for the challenges of modernity. Individuals are not educated, unlike Dewey's recommendation, to act competently in a changing world, relying on problem-solving and social-democratic skills, personal initiative, and adaptability to become effective citizens included in a changing social

order. Consequently, Tenza Valley citizens either deny the inevitability of societal change or forsake the local schools for other supposed roads to modern life.

In Democracy and Education (1916) Dewey contrasted an undesirable society with one that is democratically robust. He also described the central role that education plays in promoting the latter.

> Since education is a social process, and there are many kinds of societies, a criterion for educational criticism and construction implies a particular[45] social ideal. The two points selected by which to measure the worth of a form of social life are the extent in which the interests of a group are shared by its members, and the fullness and freedom with which it interacts with other groups. An undesirable society, in other words, is one which internally and externally sets up barriers to free intercourse and communication of experience. A society which makes provision for participation in its good for all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic. Such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder. (p. 99)

Clearly, Tenza Valley society fails to live up to these expectations. The economic conditions and exclusionary nature of class society makes education an impractical option for many citizens. Group interests are not shared because poverty, stratification, and class biases emphasize difference instead of community.

---

[45] Dewey's emphasis.

Institutions are traditionalist and inflexible. Education does not motivate a personal interest in learning the habits of mind that facilitate social transitions instead of introducing disorder. The society makes no provision for the participation in its good for all its members. Its exclusionary economic, social, and educational systems serve the interests of the select few over those of the many.

Joan Burstyn (1993) reminded us that schools do not operate on value-free knowledge. Information and learning are value-laden. Studies of the way schools help reproduce social relations of race, class, and gender suggest that there are sociological and psychological reasons why teachers perpetuate the skills and understandings of some students over the skills and understandings of others. Education tends to reproduce the power structure of the existing society. Tenza Valley schools, by their attraction and education of select portions of the population, are implicated in their failure to act towards truly democratic and moral ends. Schools that do not offer an education of worth to the common man do not operate in the common good. Rural schools abdicate their role in democratic society by their failure to educate for change.

The Beginnings of Change

How Dewey's conception of education for inclusion in modern change translates into the "nuts and bolts" of daily

educational practice is not addressed here--such an analysis would be a study in itself. Suffice to say that existing educational structures in the Tenza Valley need to be modified and realigned so that education prepares the valley's residents for life in the modern world. Education must change to attract those most vulnerable to conditions of change--the poor, the marginal, the excluded, the female, who have the least control over their own success in times of flux. Change might come from without, but the skills to cope with modernity can be acquired through an education designed to confront the issues of survival, success, inclusion, and democracy in modern times and changing cultures. Specifically,

1. Colombian rural schools need to teach the skills of modern living, not just tell about modernity in other peoples' lives. These skills need to include problem-solving skills, career-vocational skills, information about modern life, as well as the means to make intelligent decisions for inclusion in the modern world. The schools must become what their culture accuses them of being--carriers of modernity.

2. Colombian rural schools need to attract and include all classes. When the schools are seen as bastions of traditional elitism, the excluded will reject schooling in favor of other options. Dewey (1939) discussed the social consequences of exclusion; Latin America's history of

violent revolution should suggest the dangers of ignoring the education and inclusion of the underclass. Dewey (1916) also reminded us that the best way to make schooling attractive is to make it relevant and meaningful. Dewey (1938) explained that the best way to make education meaningful is to link it directly to the environment and experiences of the learner. Schools should confront the reality of cultural dissonance and help students resolve discord in productive ways.

3. Freedom requires options. Those who have no choice in how to conduct their lives are not free, regardless of a country's politics. Rural inhabitants will continue to seek radical solutions like migration if no other choices are available. Campesinos will migrate regardless of the government's wishes unless options for success are made available in rural areas.

4. Dewey called for participant democracy at the local level. Numerous grassroots development projects have been started in Latin America, built on the premise of participatory local democracy. These grassroots efforts allow local individuals to participate in local planning for change. Individuals take control of the locus of change in their own lives and communities and develop strategies to cope with and capitalize upon change. Such grassroots efforts are appropriate for and needed in the Tenza Valley.

5. Underlying democracy is the moral question of inclusion. Colombian schools should teach about issues of social stratification, classism, racism, and sexism. Democracy is a learned skill. Effective citizens must learn that equality of opportunity underlies any robust democracy. Schools must become instruments of participatory democracy.

In Dare the School Build a New Social Order (1932), George Counts called upon schools to lead the way toward a better and more equitable social consciousness based on democratic ideals. He cautioned that teachers rarely show the courage to wage war on behalf of principles or ideals. Yet, true progressive education must be directed towards social justice and equity. Education, in the words of Counts, must

> face squarely and courageously every social issue, come to grips with life in all its stark reality, establish an organic relationship with the community, develop a realistic and comprehensive theory of welfare, [and] fashion a compelling and challenging vision of human destiny. (p. 7)

This is the idealism that rural Colombian schools must adopt to prepare local citizens for democratic life in modern times.

APPENDIX
THE MINES

THE MINES

During my tour of the Tenza Valley, I detoured to the emerald mines in Gachelá because informants had mentioned so many migrants tried their luck there. I am fortunate to have a close relative in the mines, which are closed to the curious. I was treated courteously, allowed to crawl about the shafts and open pits, roam at will, and hunt for emeralds.

I have been told that 90% of the world's emeralds come from the Boyacá valleys. The Gachelá mines are a small offshoot of the large Muso mines to the north. The mines are privately owned and closely protected. The miners are armed with handguns and automatic rifles; many miners sport launchers or grenades. Armed sentries are posted on the heights above the mine entrances. Mining areas are fenced, posted no trespassing, and patrolled. Intruders are frequently shot. Security has been heightened recently because of bands of revolutionaries that have attempted to extort monies from the miners.

At the Gachelá mine site, strip mining is supplanted by vertical and horizontal shaft mines and high-pressure water applied to cliff faces. Miners work in dangerous conditions, usually in deep mud and heavy rain.

Bulldozers, jackhammers, high pressure water hoses, and dynamite are available, but most miners prefer the precision of small rock hammers and hand picks.

Miners work from dawn to dusk, and often later in the shafts. They find emeralds infrequently, often working for weeks without a single find. Emeralds usually occur in small seams or pockets, so a few finds may yield a number of export-quality stones and several loose gems of lesser quality. Miners each work for themselves, splitting the take with the local owner and mine supervisor.

Miners live on-site in a small boarding house without heat or water. Electricity is provided. Miners work 4 to 6 months continually, then rest in Bogotá for another session. Most miners in company mines do make money, often as much as $30,000 US a year, a considerable sum by local standards.

Mines and Migration

Getting a job at the mine site is problematic--the Gachelá mine retains about 70 miners, of which 40-50 are on-site at any time. Mining positions are often passed on within the family or to godchildren. Outsiders rarely have a chance to get close enough to even look at the mining operation. Even so, thousands of youths attempt to enter the mines each year, mostly migrants from nearby areas like the Tenza Valley.

One way that miners cope with invading youths is by allowing them to work the tailings left at the bottoms of mountains. Youths walk the rivers and sift the remains of old mining operations. Others work nearby hills in the hope of a new find. Some attempt to sneak onto company-owned sites. They are warned, beaten, or shot if caught. Most young beginners do find a few emeralds. This often is just enough to buy a little food and encourage more work.

Most youths that come to Gachelá do not stay long. A month of living in the rain with little food is often enough to convince fortune seekers that mining is not as glamourous as they imagined. Youths go back to their villages or on to Bogotá. They often save the worst emeralds to show others that they really have been miners.

In the Tenza valley, mining seems to be a rite of passage. Only the toughest, most daring, and strongest attempt the mines. It is a sign of bravery and status just to travel to the region. Many youths go just to experience the "wild-west" atmosphere of the area. Those that come back from the mines are accorded almost celebrity status. They become local heros of myth and storytelling.

I got caught up in this mine mythology myself. The comment that I was leaving for the mines brought stunned silence from everyone. One Tenza Valley resident warned, "Do not do it. The way you look, they will kill you for sure." Others offered weapons. I was told stories of

incredible feats and fantastic wealth. I was disappointed to find a sea of mud and filthy miners working in sleet and driving rain. The shelter was pitiful and the conditions miserable. The miners evidently hated their work, but kept at it in the hope of a quick strike. I was eager to go elsewhere.

Mining is certainly not the glamorous profession of myth and gossip. Miners work long hours under the worst of conditions. Getting a mining job at all is next to impossible. The mines do serve a migration function. But they provide an additional outlet for those who want a taste of the new life. They perpetuate the myth that the chance of fame and fortune is readily available within travelling distance.

REFERENCES

Alers, O. J., & Appelbaum, R. P. (1968). La Migración en el Perú: Un inventario de proposiciones. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Andrade Lleras, G. (1968). El proceso de urbanización en Latinoamerica. In Urbanización y marginalidad: Seminario nacional sobre urbanización y marginalidad (pp.26-49). Bogota: Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina.

Arizpe, L. (1978). Migración, ethnicismo y cambio económico. Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico.

Arturo, J. (1990). Estudios contemporáneos de cultura y anthropología urbana. In H. D. Correa & R. A. Carátula, (Eds.), Imagenes y reflexiones de la cultura en Colombia (pp. 388-409). Bogotá: Colcultura.

Atkinson, P. (1990). The ethnographic imagination. New York: Routledge.

Barco, V. (1987). La pobreza, el enemigo por vencer. In Pobreza absoluta: Cinco programas bandera (pp.23-28). Instituto de Estudios Liberales (Eds.), Bogotá: Editoria Guadalupe.

Berger, P. (1977). Facing up to modernity: Excursions in society, politics, and religion. New York: Basic Books.

Betancur Mejia, G. (1984). Informe del projecto para el primer plan quinquenal de educación, Vol 2. Documentos para la Historia del Planeamiento Integral de la Educación. Bogotá: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional.

Blanco, C. (1964). Prospective unemployment and interstate population movements. Review of Economics and Statistics, 46, 221-222.

Bock, P. G., & Rothenberg, I. R. (1979). Internal migration policy and new towns: The Mexican experience. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Bodgan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1982). Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Bogue, D. J. (1959). Internal migration. In P. M. Hauser & O. D. Duncan, The study of population: An inventory and appraisal (pp. 383-399). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Bogue, D. J. (1961). Techniques and hypotheses for the study of differential migration: Some notes from an experiment with U.S. data. Proceedings of the International Population Conference, 2, Session 4, paper 114.

Bouvier, L. F., Macasco, J. J. Jr., & Zarate, A. (1976). Towards a framework for the analysis of differential migration: The case of education. In A. H. Richmond & D. Kubat, (Eds.), Internal migration: The new world and the third world (pp. 24-36). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Bradfield, S. (1963). Migration from Huaylas: A study of brothers (Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University). Dissertation Abstracts International, 24, 3494.

Burstyn, J. (1993). Critical pedagogy and the feminist perspective. In Perkinson, H. J. (Ed.), Teachers without goals-students without purposes (pp. 101-109). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Butterworth, D., & Chance, J. K. (1981). Latin American urbanization. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cardona Gutierrez, R. (1968). Migración, urbanización y marginalidad. In Urbanización y marginalidad: Seminario nacional sobre urbanización y marginalidad, (pp. 63-87). Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina.

Cardona Gutierrez, R., & Simmons, A. B. (1977). Destino la metropoli: Un modelo general de las migraciones internas en America Latina. Bogotá: Corporación Centro Regional de Población.

Chávez, D., & Sánchez, R. (1977). Educación, recursos sociales y participación institucional. In G. Alberti & J. Cotler, (Eds.), Aspectos sociales de la educación rural en Peru (pp. 44-69). Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Consejo Nacional de Política, Economía, y Social (CONPES) (1987). In Pobreza absoluta: Cinco programas bandera (pp.29-43). Instituto de Estudios Liberales, (Eds.), Bogotá: Editoria Guadalupe.

Contreras de Gonzalez, C. R. V. (1990). Pachavita en el Valle de Tenza. Tunja (Boy.): Editar Limitada.

Coombs, P. H. (1985). The world crisis in education: The view from the eighties. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Counts, G. (1932). Dare the school build a new social order? Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press. Reprinted 1978.

Deere, C. & León de Leal, M. (1982a). Producción, campesina, proletarización y la división sexual del trabajo el la zona andina. In M. León de Leal, (Ed.), Las trabajadoras en agro, Vol 2. (pp. 115-132). Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana para el Estudio de la Población.

Deere, C., & León de Leal, M. (1982b). Women in Andean agriculture. Geneva: International Labor Office.

De Janvry, A., Fajardo, D., Errázuriz, M., & Balcázar, F., (1991). Campesinos y desarrollo en América Latina. Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores.

De La Cadena, M. (1988). Comuneros en Huancayo: Migración campesina a ciudades serranas. Lima: IEP Ediciones.

Dewey, J. (1916). Democracy and education. New York: Macmillan.

Dewey, J. (1938). Experience and education. New York: Macmillan.

Dewey, J. (1939). Freedom and culture. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Dewey, J (1954). The public and its problems. Chicago: The Swallow Press, Inc., 1927.

Epstein, E. H. (1971). Education and Peruanidad: "Internal" colonialism in the Peruvian highlands. Comparative Education Review, 15(2), 188-201.

Fierro, M. F. (1973). Algunos problemas relacionados con la migración interna de Colombia. Documento CEDE No. 003. Bogotá: Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico.

Florida Department of State (1983). Gold of El Dorado: A Florida tour. Tallahassee, FL: Florida Department of State.

Friere, P. (1973). Education for critical consciousness. New York: Seabury.

Friere, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York: Seabury.

Fundación Mariano Ospina Pérez (1980). Documento basico. Bogotá: Fundación Mariano Ospina Pérez.

Giraldo Samper, D. (1976). Migración interna y salud en Colombia. Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina.

Glaser B. G. (1965). The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis. Social Problems, 12, 436-445.

Glaser, B. G. (1978). Theoretical sensitivity: Advances in the methodology of grounded theory. Mill Valley, CA: The Sociology Press.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research. Chicago, IL: Aldine Press.

Goff, B. (1990). Mastering the craft of scaling-up in Colombia. Grassroots Development, 14, 13-22.

Gomez Hurtado, A. (1979). Planeación: Una solución para la democrácia. Bogotá: Editorial Desarrollo S. A..

González L. de G., F., (1991). Algunas ideas sobre ambiente y desarrollo rural. In Pérez C., E. (Ed.), El campesinado en Colombia hoy. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Gordon, C. (1987). The soul of the citizen: Max Weber and Michel Foucault on rationality in government. In S. Lash & S. Whimster, (Eds.), Max Weber, rationality, and modernity (pp. 293-316). Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Haar, C. M. (1963). Latin America's troubled cities. Foreign Affairs, 41(3), 536-549.

Helmsing, A. H. J. (1986). Firms, farms, and the state in Colombia. Boston: Allen & Bacon.

Henao Henao, G. (1991). Reflexiones sobre la persistencia de lo rural en la ciudad colombiana. In E. Pérez C., (Ed.), El campesinado en Colombia hoy. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Herrick, B. H. (1965). Urban migration and economic development in Chile. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press.

Herrick, B. H. (1971). Urbanization and urban migration in Latin America: An economist's view. In F. Rabinovitz & F. M. Trueblood, (Eds.), Latin American urban research, Vol. 1. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Hutchinson, S. A. (1988). Education and grounded theory. In R. R. Sherman & R. B. Webb, (Eds.), Qualitative research in education: Focus and methods (pp. 123-140). New York: Falmer Press.

Hyman, H. H. (1953). The value systems of different classes: A social psychological contribution to the analysis of stratification. In R. Bendix & S. Lipset, (Eds.), Class, status, and power (pp. 426-442). Glencoe, NY: Free Press.

Isard, W. (1956). Location and space economy. New York: Technology Press.

Iutaka, S., Bloomer, B. F., & Berardo, F. M. (1976). Fertility: Natives and migrants in metropolitan Latin America. In A. H. Richmond & D. Kubat, (Eds.), Internal migration: The new world and the third world (pp. 239-257). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Jaffe, A. J. (1959). Working force. In P. M. Hauser & O. D. Duncan, (Eds.), The study of population: An inventory and appraisal (pp. 604-620). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Junker, B. (1960) Field work. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Klapp, O. E. (1986). Boredom and overload: Essays on the quality of life in the information society. New York: Greenwood Press.

Kuznets, S., & Thomas, D. (1957, 1960, 1964). Population redistribution and economic growth: U. S. 1870-1950 (3 volumes, one each year). Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

La Belle, T. J. (1975). A response to Foster's "dilemmas of educational development". Educational Review, 19(3), 414-419.

Lago, M. S., & Olavarria, C. (1982). La Mujer campesina en la expansión frutícola chilena. In M. León de Leal, (Ed.), Las trabajadoras in agro, Vol 2. (pp. 179-200). Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana para el Estudio de la Población.

Leininger, M. (1985). Nature, rationale, and importance of qualitative research methods in nursing. In M. Leininger (Ed.), Qualitative research methods in nursing (pp. 1-25). Orlando, FL: Grune & Stratton.

Lizarzaburu, A. (1985). The experience of integral adult-literacy training in Peru: From utopia to reality. In Educational planning in the context of current development problems, Vol. 2 (pp. 207-228). Brussels: UNESCO-Comedi.

Llovera, B. (1966). El exodo rural en Venezuela. Caracas: Ediciones del Cuatricentenario de Caracas.

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. (1984). Analyzing social settings. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Loflin, J. (1971). Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative onservation and analysis. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.

Longmore, T. W. (1948). A matrix approach to the analysis of rank and status in a community in Peru. Sociometry, 11, 192-206.

Matos Mar, J. (1961). Migration and urbanization: The barriadas of Lima: An example of integration into urban life. In P. M. Hauser, (Ed.), Urbanization in Latin America (pp. 170-190). New York: International Documents Service, Division of Columbia University Press.

McGreevey, W. (1968). Causas de la migración interna en Colombia. Berkeley, CA: Center for Latin American Studies, Institute of International Studies.

Mejia J., M. R. (1988). Educación popular: Temas y problemas. Bogotá: CINEP (Centro de Investigaciones y educación popular).

Mendoza Hoyos, H. (1968). Caracteristicas generales de la población colombiana. In Urbanización y marginalidad: Seminario nacional sobre urbanización y marginalidad, (pp. 11-25). Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina.

Mendoza, A., & Mendoza, A. (1981). Retorno al campo. Bogotá: Editorial Orbs.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social Senalde (1979). Política de migraciones laborales en Colombia, Proyecto PNUD-OIT, Col 72/127. Bogotá: Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social.

Molina, J. P. (1991). La economía campesina Colombiana: Comentario. In E. Pérez C., (Ed.), El campesinado en Colombia hoy. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Novoa R., A. R., & Gómez R., M. D. (1978). El niño en el sector rural Colombiano: Una aproximación a su conocimiento. Bogotá: Fundación para la Educación Permanente en Colombia and Fundación Mariano Ospina Perez.

Ordoñez G., M. (1986) Población y familia rural en Colombia. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Ospina, J. C. (1973) Enfoque Colombiano del problema demográfico. Bogotá: Grafícas Leipzig.

Paredes M., R., Gómez A., A., & Jiménez R., G. (1969). El proceso de urbanización y sus implicaciones en la salud. II seminario nacional sobre urbanización. Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina.

Parades, P., & Soberón, L. (1977). Educación, contactos urbanos y migración. In G. Albertí & J. Cotler, (Eds.), Aspectos sociales de la educación rural en Peru (pp. 71-83). Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Parra, R. (1980). La imagen del maestro rural. Revista Colombiana de Educación, 6(2), 143-144.

Parra, R., & Zubieta, L. (1982). Escuela, marginalidad y contextos sociales en Colombia. Revista Colombiana de Educación, 10(2), 9-19.

Parra Sandoval, R. (1986). La escuela inconclusa. Bogotá: Plaza y Janes.

Pérez Correa, E. (1991). La educación en el sector rural diagnóstico y recomendaciones: Comentario. In E. Pérez C., (Ed.), El campesinado en Colombia hoy. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Perez, L. (1974). An analysis of the migrant population of Bogotá, Colombia (Doctoral dissertation, University of Florida). Dissertation Abstracts International, 36, 1110A.

Pírez, P. (1986). La población y el estudio de lo urbano-regional en América Latina. Mexico City: PISPAL/El Colegio de Mexico.

Preston, R. (1987). Education and migration in highland Ecuador. Comparative Education, 23(2), 191-207.

Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The laws of migration. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 48, 241-301.

Redford, A. (1926). Labor migration in England 1800-50. Manchester, England: University Press.

Reyes, M., & Prieto, R. (1965). Estudio agronómico de la hoya del rio Suárez. Cited in McGreevey, W. (1968). Causas de la migración interna en Colombia. Berkeley, CA: Center for Latin American Studies, Institute of International Studies.

Richer, S. (1975). School effects: The case for grounded theory. Sociology of Education, 48, 383-399.

Roa Roa, N. de J. (1985). Incidencia del "clientismo politico" en el proceso de desarrollo comunitario en la comunidad de invasion La Sexta. Tesis del grado para el titulo de trabajadora social. Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Sanz de Santamaria, A. (1991). Violencia y desarrollo en las regiones campesinas Colombianas. In E. Pérez C., (Ed.), El campesinado en Colombia hoy. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Sanz de Santamaria, A., Velez, E., Gonzalez, G., & Becerra, C. (1985). Reproducción de fuerza de trabajo, educación y migración en el sector rural Colombiano. Bogotá: Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico (CEDE).

Sarmiento Anzola, L. (1991). La pobreza rural en Colombia. In E. Pérez C., (Ed.), El campesinado en Colombia hoy. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Schutz, A. (1970a). Reflections on the problems of relevance. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Schutz, A. (1970b). On phenomenology and social relations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shimahara, N. (1988). Anthroethnography: A methodological consideration. In R. R. Sherman & R. B. Webb, (Eds.), Qualitative research in education: Focus and methods (pp. 76-89). New York: Falmer Press.

Silva, A. E. (1982). De mujer campesina a obrera florista. In M. León de Leal, (Ed.), Las trabajadoras in agro, Vol. 1 (pp. 28-42). Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana para el Estudio de la Población.

Sorokin, P. A. (1953). What is social class? In R. Bendix & S. M. Lipset, (Eds.), Class, status, and power (pp. 87-92). Glencoe, NY: Free Press.

Sjaastad, L. (1962). The costs and returns of human migration. Journal of Political Economy, 70(5), part 2.

Spradley, J. P. (1979). The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Spradley, J. P. (1980). Participant observation. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Spring, J. (1980). Educating the worker-citizen. New York: Longman.

Stewart, J. Q. (1948). Demographic gravitation: Evidence and applications. Sociometry, 11, 31-58.

Strauss, A. L. (1987). Qualitative analysis for social scientists. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Stronquist, N. (1983). La investigación participativa: Un nuevo enfoque sociológico. Revista Colombiana de Educación, 11(1), 111-126.

Thomas, A. (1979). Learned helplessness and expectancy factors: Implications for research in learning disabilities. Review of Educational Research, 49, 208-221.

Toro, G. (1990). Cultura-educación: Un reencuentro necesario. In H. D. Correa & R. A. Carátula, (Eds.), Imagenes y reflexiones de la cultura en Colombia (pp. 58-71). Bogotá: Colcultura.

Turbay Ayala, J. C. (1979). Crónica del segundo año, 1979-1980. Bogotá: Secretaría de Información y Prensa de la Presidencia de la República.

Vargas de Roa, R. M. (1991). La educación en el sector rural diagnóstico y recomendaciones. In E. Pérez C., (Ed.), El campesinado en Colombia hoy. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Vargas Sierra, G. (1985). Comunidades campesinas. Bogotá: Universidad Santo Tomas.

Velásquez Bedoya, A. (1991). La fundación San Isidro y la promoción integral del campesinado boyacense. In E. Pérez C., (Ed.), El campesinado en Colombia hoy. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

Viviescas Monsalve, F. (1989). Urbanización y ciudad en Colombia. Bogotá: Fundación Foro Nacional por Colombia.

Webb, R. (1976). The presence of the past. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.

Wilcox, K. (1982). Ethnography as a methodology and its application to the study of schooling: A review. In G. Spindler (Ed.), Doing the ethnography of schooling (pp. 456-488). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson.

Wilson, W. J. (1987). The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Woods, P. (1988). Educational ethnography in Britain. In R. R. Sherman & R. B. Webb, (Eds.), Qualitative research in education: Focus and methods (pp. 90-109). New York: Falmer Press.

Zubieta, L. (1982). Ethnografía y política educatíva. Revista Colombiana de Educación, 10(2), 107-115.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Stephen Schmitz began teaching in Wellington, Colorado, after graduating from Colorado State University in 1975. After his first year, he accepted a position teaching science at Colegio Nueva Granada in Bogotá, Colombia, where he taught for 10 years. During that time, he met and married a Colombian Tenza Valley native and adopted a 10-year-old girl from the valley. Through them, he became interested in the plight of the poor in the Colombian highlands and convinced that education was one key to their economic success.

Schmitz returned to the United States in 1986 seeking an advanced degree. He received his 1990 M.A. in curriculum and instruction: ESL and bilingual education from The University of Colorado at Denver. He then entered the University of Florida where he taught social and historical foundations of education and child development in education while studying for his doctorate in social foundations of education.

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Rodman Webb, Chair
Professor of Foundations of Education

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Elizabeth Bondy
Assistant Professor of Instruction and Curriculum

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Linda Crocker
Professor of Foundations of Education

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Paul Doughty
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Robert Sherman
Professor of Foundations of Education

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May, 1993

_____
Chairman, Foundations of Education

_____
Dean, College of Education

_____
Dean, Graduate School

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Rodman Webb, Chair
Professor of Foundations of Education

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Elizabeth J Bondy
Assistant Professor of Instruction and Curriculum

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Linda Crocker
Professor of Foundations of Education

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Paul Doughty
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Robert Sherman
Professor of Foundations of Education

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May, 1993

Chairman, Foundations of Education

Dean, College of Education

Dean, Graduate School